

WOMEN AND WORK IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY EDINBURGH

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CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	ii
DECLARATION	iii
ABSTRACT	iv
LIST OF TABLES IN THE TEXT	v
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	vi
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	vii
INTRODUCTION	viii
CHAPTER 1 The Retail Trade	1
CHAPTER 2 Roomsetters, Nurses and Graveclothes-makers: community care in eighteenth century Edinburgh	63
CHAPTER 3 Single women and independence	120
CHAPTER 4 Married women and subsistence	176
CHAPTER 5 Women and poverty	228
CONCLUSION	284
Appendix I Women shopkeepers in the Minute Books of the Merchant Company of Edinburgh	293
Appendix 2 Single women in business	323
Appendix 3 The textile and grocery trades; apprentices, journeywomen, assistants, shopkeepers and servants	350
Appendix 4 Married women and work	368
SOURCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY	395

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Elizabeth C. Sanderson

February 1993

DECLARATION

I certify that this thesis has been composed by me, that the work is entirely my own, and that no part of the thesis has been published in its present form.

Elizabeth C. Sanderson

ABSTRACT

Using the context of the burgh of Edinburgh in the eighteenth century, the present study is focused on women's employment, showing how the experience of work affected their lives. Two important areas of employment, domestic service and aleselling, are not included as the scale and nature of these occupations demand separate investigation. Servants in the context of this thesis are those who had some specialist skill or training, such as apprentices and servants to shopkeepers. The employments discussed are those of shopkeeper, mantuamaker, graveclothes-maker, sick-nurse, midwife, rousing woman, roomsetter, seamstress, washerwoman and schoolmistress.

From the evidence relating to eighteenth-century Edinburgh the following conclusions were reached. The majority of women worked, either to support themselves if single or to add to the family income if married. Married women were not isolated in a private sphere of domesticity. On the contrary, their employments took them outside the home and into the community where they operated in the same world as their male counterparts. Wives also shared in the running of family businesses or were involved in separate businesses from those of their husbands, thus contributing to the family income. The concept of the husband as the sole breadwinner would appear to have come much later, in the nineteenth century. With regard to single women, by the early eighteenth century there were opportunities, with some form of training, to set up and continue in a business independently outside the family home.

List of Tables in the text

	Page
Social background of graveclothes-makers, married women	105
Occupations of the husbands of rousing-women	183
Sample of 133 craftsmen and tradesmen whose wives/widows had different occupations from their husbands	205-7

List of Illustrations: engravings and documents

Between pages

1. 'The Glance', depicting the interior of the New Exchange, London, 1772; possibly similar to that of the Old Exchange, Edinburgh 25 x 26
2. Extract of the admission of Mr John Polson, advocate, as burgess and guildbrother of Edinburgh, 16 January 1730; he paying 100 merks, as his wife Anna Strachan had paid 100 merks for a licence to trade in 1724 (E.C.A.: Moses Bundle 273, No 8640) 35 x 36
3. Sibilla Hutton milliner, and Mr Johnston merchant, two shopkeepers in the Royal Exchange; John Kay, Original Portraits 52 x 53
4. Receipt by Susan Moor, for payment for 28 nights' attendance as a sick-nurse, 7 July 1747 (CC8/4/469) 74 x 75
5. Account to Elizabeth MacKenzie, graveclothes-maker, for supplying the graveclothes and the funeral provisions and arrangements for Lord Balmerino, judge, 1746 (CC8/4/455) 110 x 111
6. Receipt by Betty Dick, town crier, Dalkeith, for payment for calling a roup, 26 October 1758 (CC8/4/505). Drawing of Betty Dick from John Kay, Original Portraits, which suggests that she 'cried' in Edinburgh 176 x 177
7. Account due to Anna Dobie, Mrs Freebairn, wife of David Freebairn Episcopal minister, by Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, for washing and dressing linens, March-June 1709 (SRO, Clerk of Penicuik Muniments, GD 18/2172) 191 x 192
8. Account due to Helen Gray, baxter, wife of John Hamilton, writer, for baking, 4 June 1696 to 26 December 1697 (ECA BCP Box 34 Bundle 94) 196 x 197
9. Account due to Helen Adam, Mrs Rattray, for medicines to the daughter of Captain Simon Fraser in her last illness and for graveclothes, funeral provisions and arrangements for himself when he died; November-December 1734 (ECA BCP Box 93 Bundle 234) 202 x 203
10. The Old City Guard of Edinburgh as it stood in 1786; from Edinburgh in the Olden Time, 1880 257 x 258

List of Abbreviations

BCP	Burgh Court Processes
CC	Commissary Court
CS	Court of Session
E	Exchequer records
ECA	Edinburgh City Archives
GD	Gifts and Deposits (i.e. private muniments in SRO)
NLS	National Library of Scotland
RD	Register of Deeds
RH	Register House Series (of legal and business papers in SRO)
SRO	Scottish Record Office

WOMEN AND WORK IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY EDINBURGH

INTRODUCTION

Studies of women's work in British towns before 1800 have been few.¹ Two important works produced earlier this century are Alice Clark, The Working life of Women in the Seventeenth Century (1911) and Ivy Pinchbeck, Women Workers and the Industrial Revolution, 1750-1850 (1930). Although these studies were not immediately followed up, nevertheless over the last decade or so there has been an increasing interest by English historians in all aspects of women's history. Some of these have focused on women and work in towns, for example, Mary Prior's paper on Oxford, 'Women and the Urban Economy, 1500-1800'. However, this activity in England has not sparked off a similar commitment to research into the subject of women and work in Scotland before 1800. R.K. Marshall's Virgins and Viragos (1983) discussed in a general way the period 1080-1980 and does not cover any particular period in depth, nor the subject of work as such. R.A. Houston's paper, 'Women in the Economy and Society of Scotland, 1500-1800' (in R.A. Houston and I.D. Whyte, eds., Scottish Society, 1500-1800, 1989), is also a general discussion of Scottish women covering a long period and does not look at women's work in depth. The only study to include a discussion of women's work in an urban setting is W. Coutts, 'Women, Children and Domestic Servants in Dumfries in the 17th century' (Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society, 3rd series, Vol. LXI, 1986).

Even in the English context, however, Lindsey Charles claimed

in her Introduction to Women and Work in Pre-Industrial England that women's work in earlier periods had been relatively neglected, and she also drew attention to Kay Casey's comment that it is 'the least well-explored area of women's studies'.

Various reasons for this neglect have been put forward not only by English but also by Scottish historians. Most of these reasons have concerned sources; for example, it is said that women do not figure largely in the records, that women are rarely given an occupational designation in the records and that much of women's work was primarily viewed as 'the social obligation of a wife rather than the "occupation" of a married woman'.² It is probably this preoccupation with women and the private sphere which has prevented most historians from taking women's employment seriously in the early-modern period. This being so, any additional work, other than the domestic, tends to be seen as a 'by-employment' and therefore it is not treated in the same way as a man's employment.

It is necessary to make these points at the outset because the present study grew out of an interest in women's employment as distinct from their domestic activities. An interest in the history of costume made it necessary to look at bills which had survived in family papers. Those bills not only gave details of costume but indicated who had either supplied the fabric or made the garments, for example, headwear, stocks, shirts and petticoats, and were often signed by the supplier. Examination of the bills suggested that some of these were signed in the woman's own name but headed with her married name. Many of the suppliers were based in the Capital. An interest therefore developed in the women who had supplied the goods,

that is the shopkeepers and those who made up the garments, that is the milliners, mantuamakers, seamstresses etc., and a decision was taken to find out what size of businesses these women operated, how they fitted into the burgh community and something about their social background. For although there are many specialist books on costume history few give any information on the women who made and supplied the costume.

In the course of investigating employment in the textile trades, for example, shopkeeping and mantuamaking, a very large proportion of women's activities in Edinburgh, important information came to light on other major occupations, such as graveclothes-making and rousing, which had not been previously studied.

There are no records for women such as those for men to be found in the male apprentice and burgess registers, nor by comparison are there many women's testaments. The Register of Burgesses, however, was invaluable for identifying women whose husbands became burgesses by right of their wives, at the same time revealing the occupations of husbands and fathers. The Registers of Marriages are an obvious source of information on women and, as will be discussed in Chapter 4, the fact that Scottish women retained the use of their own surname is an aid to establishing their identities in other records. In England it is extremely difficult to trace a woman after marriage as she used only her husband's surname after marriage. Although, comparatively speaking, not many women left testaments, they were often executors for their husbands, whose testaments, therefore, helped to establish their identity.

Other Commissary Court papers such as those dealing with

consistorial matters (e.g. divorce and scandal) and executory business (in particular, the recovery of debt), also produced a great deal of information on women's business affairs, particularly bills and depositions, the latter given not only by themselves but by their servants and apprentices. In the eighteenth century the inhabitants of Edinburgh were extremely familiar with the law courts where they showed no hesitation in raising actions against debtors; even small traders and poorer inhabitants of the burgh had recourse to the law to settle their differences, whether financial or personal. Edinburgh Burgh Court processes, therefore, yielded a wealth of information which not only provided details about women's employment, but also threw light on their everyday experiences.

Another very good source of information on women shopkeepers, which was used extensively, is that of the Minutes of the Merchant Company of Edinburgh. From 1700 to the 1730s the Merchant Company kept strict watch on women who were running shops. The Company's officials went to great trouble to make sure that such women not only paid to the Company their entry money for setting up, but also kept up payment of quarter dues. They also ascertained whether the women had burgess rights. There is therefore a vast amount of detail concerning women in the Company's Minutes. Some of these women also turned up in a ledger belonging to John Bell, a linen merchant, who had a shop in Edinburgh and sold haberdashery goods to shopkeepers.

As already noted, family papers held in the Scottish Record Office contain large quantities of eighteenth century accounts for garments, haberdashery, furnishings and grocery goods. They also contain letters, not only those written to shopkeepers, but family

letters containing information that can help to identify women in employment in the Capital. As will be seen from the List of Sources many other records proved valuable in the search for information on women's work.

As a service town, Edinburgh provided many opportunities for the employment of women: the law courts, educational facilities, the army and entertainments all brought demands for food, clothing, lodging, teachers and servants. At the same time, for much of the eighteenth century the burgh of Edinburgh had a well-marked-out landscape within which its inhabitants had to operate. For example, sellers of flesh, fish and fruit had their allotted spaces governed by well-defined rules and regulations. The Merchant Company and the Craft Incorporations had a good deal of power, at least until the middle of the century; the tailors took the mantuamakers to court in the 1760s for encroaching on their trade.

The aim of this thesis is to show how working women fitted into the burgh community, by examining the kinds of work available to them, how they were able to operate within the restricted areas and how the experience of work affected their lives.

The Thesis is divided into five Chapters: (1) The Retail Trade; (2) Roomsetters, Nurses and Graveclothes-makers: Community Care in Eighteenth Century Edinburgh; (3) Single Women and Independence; (4) Married Women and Subsistence; (5) Women and Poverty. There follow four Appendices: (1) Women shopkeepers in the Minute Books of the Merchant Company of Edinburgh (2) Single Women in Business; (3) The Textile and Grocery Trades: Apprentices, Journeywomen, Assistants, Shopkeepers and Servants; (4) Married Women and Work.

This is followed by a List of Sources used and Bibliography of printed works consulted.

Elizabeth C. Sanderson

NOTES

1. As noted in the Abstract, two areas of employment, domestic service and ale-selling, are not discussed in this study as the scale and nature of these occupations demand separate investigation. Servants in the context of this thesis are those who had some specialist skill or training, such as the servants of shopkeepers.
2. Lindsey Charles in introduction to Women and Work in Pre-Industrial England, p. 10, and Michael Roberts, 'Words they are Women and Deeds they are Men...', in same work, p.144.

CHAPTER ONE

THE RETAIL TRADEIntroduction

Before looking at the involvement of women in retailing it is necessary to make some observations about the study of the retail trade itself. In 1959 William Marwick remarked that the retail trade had been neglected by historians.¹ Thirty years later Hohcheung and Lorna Mui can still claim, with regard to the eighteenth century itself, that no systematic study of shops and shopkeeping has been undertaken.² Not only has the subject been neglected but its significance has been missed. To say, as one Scottish historian has recently said, that 'women's participation in trade was generally confined to shopkeeping' is to completely misunderstand the role of retailing in the life of the Scottish burgh.³

This misunderstanding arises from a failure to recognise the character of merchant in Scottish urban life where the terms merchant and shopkeeper were synonymous; to quote John Gibson, 'by merchants are to be understood all those who buy and sell'.⁴ Within this wide range of trader it is hardly meaningful to speak of anyone as being confined to shopkeeping, as though shopkeeping were an insignificant employment.

The use of the word merchant by economic historians has contributed to this misapprehension. Too often they have used the word to identify mainly the men who exported and imported goods and who subsequently became the merchants with most wealth. These men are perceived as the inhabitants of greatest consequence in the

burgh. The unfortunate result of this bias is to cause the shopkeeper to be regarded as insignificant, a misapprehension revealed in the common use of the associated adjectives 'petty shopkeeper', 'small shopkeeper'.

Edinburgh, with its law courts, educational facilities, entertainments and formal social gatherings, was basically a service town where the shopkeeper played a vital role in the life of the community by providing food, clothing and household supplies as well as specialist commodities. Craftsmen and tradesmen such as the saddler, upholsterer, glazier and candlemaker also had their own shops for retailing the goods they made.

Women's work within the retail trade is the area in which the women came into closest contact with the burgh institutions, such as the Town Council and the Merchant Company, and with the laws which governed their freedom to make a living. Therefore the right to trade merits the most attention in this chapter. One of the most fruitful sources for the history of women in the retail trade in eighteenth-century Edinburgh is the minutes of the Merchant company founded in 1681. The Company had almost as much influence with regard to unfree trading as had the Town Council itself. At the outset the Company obtained a monopoly over the retailing of men's and women's apparel and the cloth for making it, stipulating that everyone so retailing must join the Company. At the same time the Town Council required the Company to ensure that entrants already had freedom of the burgh. The Town Council also stipulated that only the town's officer could authorize the Company's officers to poind

defaulters' goods.

In the Merchant Company's first year of existence, according to Heron, there were 138 entrants. This dropped to two in the second year.⁵ It was not long before the Company realised that the Edinburgh shopkeepers were in no hurry to join. It was therefore decided that if those selling cloth and apparel were not going to enter voluntarily, then they would have to be compelled to do so and in 1683 the Master and Assistants took steps to this end. This vigilance, although it waned in intensity, was maintained almost until the middle of the eighteenth century. Since both men and women retailed the kind of goods contained in the Company's monopoly, both turn up in the Company's minutes being prosecuted either as unfree traders or as free of the burgh but in neither case having entered the Company.

To understand the Company's attitude to women it is necessary first of all to look at what it meant to be a burgess, someone who had the right to trade or exercise a craft in the burgh. Leaving aside exceptions, there were three possible ways in which to obtain burgess-ship. Firstly, by right of father, secondly by right of wife and, thirdly, by having served apprenticeship to a burgess. Burgess-ship could also be purchased. Entry to burgess-ship was not automatic, however, as an entry-fee had to be paid, which could be a considerable sum; James Houston, wright, stated that although 'he had served apprentice thirty years ago he had never been able to afford to enter freeman'.⁶

Theoretically at least a burgess had the right to vote in burgh matters such as in the town council or craft incorporation meetings,

and take public part in municipal affairs such as office-holding, although the majority of burgesses would never reach this degree of influence. There were, of course, gratis burgess-ships, occasionally given out for 'good services' to the burgh or, at other times simply to bring in revenue. There were repeated complaints against these gratis burgess-ships as being unfair to free burgesses, with allegations that such burgess-ships were acquired 'upon design either to get a place or to get their children put in Heriots Hospital or themselves into Trinity Hospitall or both, which does much prejudice those who has true right either by their birth, marriage, service or money'.⁷ It was therefore decided that gratis burgesses would not have this right (i.e. to the hospitals), and that they should also have restricted trading rights and, in 1703, an Act was passed stating that such burgesses would have the right to trade for 5 years only, after which they would again be treated as unfreemen.⁸ There was also a practice of issuing burgess tickets to the Provost, Master of the Merchant Company and other such officials which they might pass on to their friends. We can look now at women's right to trade in relation to the term burgess.

I. WOMEN'S RIGHT TO TRADE

There appears to be little evidence to suggest that women were regarded as burgesses apart from the right to trade, that is if by definition a burgess was a person who also had a right to vote and, in theory at least, take part in the administration of such institutions as the guildry, incorporations and town council.

Although there are scattered references to women becoming

burghesses and guildsisters in earlier times it would seem unlikely that those so designated had any other right than that of the freedom of the burgh, which enabled them to trade. Indeed this was probably all that the women wished to have since the means of subsistence was the aim of their entry. Although it is also true that there were women who carried on their husbands' businesses or crafts and continued to pay their dues to the guildry or craft incorporation, there is no evidence to suggest that women took any part in the administration of these bodies. Although women who exercised a good-going business or craft might be regarded with suspicion and disapproval if they were seen to be depriving men of their livelihood, most widows who had already been involved in the husbands' trade were probably accepted.

In Edinburgh provision was made for some women to have freedom of the burgh, whether married, single or widowed. A woman had right by her burgh father, if she were unmarried, or by her burgh husband either as a spouse or widow. By the eighteenth century, however, women also acquired the right to trade by warrants or licences from the Town Council, something which caused friction between the latter and the Merchant Company, as will be discussed later. These women who obtained warrants were either unmarried with no right by their fathers, or women who petitioned the Town Council because of poverty. Their licences were usually of limited duration and therefore had to be renewed.

For example, on 10 September 1708 licence was granted to Anna Semple, Mary McCallum, Jean Murray and Anna Burnet, then being

unmarried, 'for the space of seven years gratis'. A few women, however, purchased a licence for one hundred Scots merks, this sum being allowed as part-payment of their husbands' burgess fees if they later married unfreemen. Grizel Pillans paid one hundred merks in 1717, although she died unmarried in 1736.⁹ She presumably had no right to trade by her father; her brother Thomas who was a merchant in Rotterdam had possibly been apprenticed abroad. Grizel's licence, however, may have been a renewal, for she can be found trading in 1698 in the Luckenbooths, when she paid dues to the Merchant Company. She may have decided to purchase her right outright in 1717 for it appears that such a large payment was for life.

There was, however, a third category of women who might be allowed to trade, defined in an act of the Town Council in February 1736 as gentlewomen. At this time the Town Council decided that the dues of half that of the burgess fee demanded from the daughters of burgesses was too heavy a burden for them and laid down that burgesses' daughters while unmarried should not be liable for any due at all. At the same time it was admitted that hardship was also experienced by those women defined as unmarried gentlewomen 'who ... having pretty good stocks, and having been dealers in the millinery way, or in some such merchandise different from that which has been usually carried on in the little shops complained on [i.e. by unfree traders], and who shall be willing to pay to this city a valuable consideration for it, as hereinafter mentioned, would be an unjustifiable hardship done to them, and would be hurtful to the community...', therefore the Council decided that such women should

pay £6 sterling to the Dean of Guild for the use of the city.¹⁰ Such women were often identified by their social background when granted a licence: Elizabeth Skene, daughter of the deceased Thomas Skene, advocate, Margaret Mowbray, daughter to the deceased Mr Patrick Mowbray, late clerk to the College of Surgeons.¹¹

One year after this act, however, it seems that numbers of women were taking advantage of it to open little shops in the town. 'Considering that by a clause in the late act of Council, 28th April 1736, for granting of licences, several persons under colour of being dealers in the millinery way ... has consigned the sum of £6 sterling in the hands of the Dean of Guild in order to obtain such licence to trade, in several ways prejudicial to the right of free burgesses:... therefore do authorise and appoint the dean of guild and his council to enquire narrowly if any of those persons who have consigned £6 for the use of the above mentioned are milliners or dealers in the millinery way, and to give out licence to none but those ... and to return the money to those persons who shall not be found to be milliners as aforesaid'.¹² How far the Dean of Guild and his council were successful it is impossible to assess, but on one occasion, out of 6 women who were cited only one compeared.¹³ There is no doubt that shopkeeping was seen as an important means of subsistence by women in the burgh, whether free or not, and from a minute of the Town Council in 1736, which alleged that some unfree women had withdrawn themselves from service and 'creept into little shops', it was also seen as an escape from drudgery.

As discussed above, the Merchant Company appears to have had great difficulty in obtaining members after the initial interest, and they therefore began to compel those involved in the retail of apparel to enter the Company, both men and women. Since all shopkeepers in these commodities were compelled to enter there is no question of women having been debarred;¹⁴ indeed, the minutes of the Merchant Company show that women made up a considerable number of those compelled to enter. Such women are said to have paid dues of entry and are in many cases referred to as members. For example, many lists are headed, 'members to be expunged who are dead, insolvent or out of trade'; many of those listed are women. Other lists are headed, 'non-entrants' (those who failed to enter); again many women's names are recorded.

In the minutes of 1698 one such list records the following women: Mrs Strachan, Margaret Drummond, Isobel Carson, Margaret Somerville, Barbara Thomson, Margaret Hutton, Rachael Sym, Marion Lowrie, Elizabeth Brown, Janet Johnston, Widow Boog, Margaret Skirving and Alison Pitullo.¹⁵ These women are all defined as non-entrants; Margaret Drummond is later recorded as craving some time to provide 'her money in respect she is but mean and a burgess's daughter keeping a shop of 6 pund Scots rent, which being considered the Board grant her 3 months to provide her money'. Alison Pitullo is also recorded as consigning her dues and stating her willingness to pay quarter dues to the Company. More lists appear in 1713 recording the names of women who had had some goods poided: Margaret Rattray, Anna Mossman, Helen Bell, Mistress Elizabeth Eliot and Cecilia Cockburn. Most of these women were shopkeepers in the

Exchange. When it was discovered that they were all burgesses' daughters only lately set up, some of them poor, the treasurer was asked to give back their poinds and to delay their entry until further orders. When Elizabeth Eliot (above) had her goods poinded she pointed out that she was only a servant to Mrs Agnes Crichton another shopkeeper in the Exchange. She explained that Agnes Crichton was deaf and that she (Elizabeth) only assisted her because of her disability; whereupon Elizabeth was given back her goods as 'she the said Agnes Crichton being a burgesses daughter has entered with this company'. Elizabeth Eliot, however, appears to have paid in the end. Another note in the minutes shows that women were considered members: in 1717 'Beatrix Shand who keeps a shop opposite to the luckenbooths and Mary Young shopkeeper in Gornilocks' land acknowledge they trade in apparel, assert that their fathers and grandfathers were burgesses and submit themselves to the Company'. They were allowed until Whitsunday next to enter 'or at least betwix that term and lamas or to be poinded for £20 Scots'.¹⁶

It is also apparent that both men and women could enter the Company by right of their spouses. For example, Robert Nisbet, 'shopkeeper in the Laigh Exchange, now married to Elizabeth Gilchrist who is a burgesses daughter and was member of this company, consigned his dues in the treasurer's hand, admitted only if he enter himself burgess by right of his said wife and produce his burgess ticket', otherwise he would be fined. Women, too, might be covered by their husbands' right to trade. Janet Williamson, a shopkeeper in 1710, had some ribbons poinded for unfree trading. By January 1711 she

still had not compeared before the Company and 'after three times called and not compearing' she was 'fined £20 and the ribbons to remain in the hall untill she pays it'; she was also charged not to trade until properly qualified. By August 1711 Janet's ribbons were to be roused if she did not pay her fine. In the minutes of 1712 it is recorded that the ribbons were finally exposed to rouse as she had still not paid. However, the treasurer was informed that Janet had now married Andrew Sheills who was a burgess, whereupon the Company allowed him to enter and allowed Janet's fine to be counted as his entry dues; he also got back her pointed ribbons. It is quite apparent that Janet intended to continue trading, for her husband Andrew Sheills was not a merchant but a writer who was burgess by right of his writer father Patrick Sheills. Andrew's sisters were also shopkeepers in the Exchange. There are other instances where women were allowed to trade on the strength of their husbands' burgess tickets. A mason was warned for unfree trading, but it was in fact his wife who was the trader: 'his wife compeared and acknowledges selling stockings and linnings in a laigh chop off mercat days'. She was asked to pay £20 Scots, but 'if he [her husband] compear next meeting and produce his burgess ticket and pay the ordinary dues of upsett the same will be accepted as his fine'. The wife of John Rochhead a surgeon-apothecary was also reported to the Company for unfree trading. She had lately come from London and started to sell in the town: 'Louisa Aitchison, spouse to John Rochhead surgeon-apothecary in London, having brought several goods for apparell to town which she has sold ... acknowledges she sells goods but pleads ignorance [also] that her husband is a burgess son

and himself about to enter...'. She was asked to pay £20 Scots, but 'if she bring her husband's ticket the fine will stand as his entry money'.¹⁷

Evidence in the Merchant Company's minutes shows that even burgesses' daughters, who had the right to trade, often did not enter the Company until 'discovered' or reported. This is not surprising; most of these women shopkeepers were fairly small traders, at least in the early part of the century when it is apparent that many of them had only recently set up, and the expense of £6 entry money plus quarter dues would be avoided as long as possible. Indeed, several of the women asked for time to pay. Robert Miller, a merchant burgess, declared that his daughter Elizabeth Miller in the Laigh Exchange was now trading for herself, with a partner, but he said that they were 'just young lasses' and asked for a delay in paying their dues of entry.¹⁸ Elizabeth Miller and her partner, however, were asked to pay 'instantly'. It is doubtful whether this decision reflected any disapproval of Robert Miller's daughter's setting up for herself as there were officials of the Company whose female relatives also had shops in the Exchange. It is more likely that they thought Robert Miller could pay for his daughter, and he probably did.

Burgesses' daughters, therefore, were not exempt from a visit from the Master of the Merchant Company and the Town Officer, the latter having authority to poind goods from those who had not paid their entry money and quarter dues, or who were unable at that point

to produce their father's burgess ticket. Numbers of women are recorded as going along to the treasurer, presenting these tickets and paying their dues, after which they got back their poided goods. It is apparent from the minutes that women's goods were poided first and questions asked afterwards. In 1713 the treasurer "informs that he has drawn poidns from six persons who are burgesses' daughters - two Mistresses Broun, in the Exchange, Betty Bell, Marion Inglis, Janet Gray and Janet Weir". A few days later he reports poidns having been taken once more from Elizabeth Chiesley, Anna Mossman, Helen Bell, Mistress Eliot and Cecilia Cockburn, 'who being burgesses' daughters and but lately set up and some of them poor', the treasurer was allowed to give back their poidns and to delay entry until further orders. Later entries show that these women continued to trade for some time and paid their quarter dues.¹⁹

There is no doubt that in the first quarter of the eighteenth century there was a good deal of harassment, but of course this did not only apply to women. Men who were unfree also had goods poided and roused and were debarred from trading unless they entered the Company and paid quarter dues. Not all those who were harassed accepted it. Henry Combie, when the officers arrived 'called them rogues, villains and robbers and uttered other approbations not only against the named persons [i.e. the officers] but against the whole Company and lifting a great cannon ball declared that whoever offered to take any poind from him should be a dead man'.²⁰ Janet Williamson, mentioned above, kept the officers waiting for an hour when they tried to find out what goods she had in her chamber'; in fact she never did put in an appearance and they had to obtain a

warrant from Bailie Dundas to put his seal on her chamber. 'Notwithstanding, when the treasurer came down to the chamber again the Bailie's seals had been removed from the door and the door appeared to be open'. Janet was warned to compear and be prosecuted for removing the seals. There is no record of further prosecution for breaking the seals, only of the fine and intended roup of her ribbons. Perhaps Janet considered she had won the battle when two years later she gained the right to trade by her husband and got her ribbons back. In 1704 Anna Campbell, another shopkeeper, ignored the orders of the Company to stop trading, even after some of her goods had been poinded.

'In respect Anna Campbell has not this day compeared to satisfy the Company but on the contrary and in manifold contempt of the Company doth keep ane open shop and refuses to give satisfaction, the officer is ordered forthwith to poind the said Anna to the value of £20 Scots ... and roup what is in their custody already'.

Some days later another entry records an order to Anna 'to compear and pay the fine or be roused'.²¹ Unfortunately, no outcome is recorded but it is possible that this Anna Campbell is the same person to whom the Town Council had given a licence in 1682. She was a minister's daughter whose licence covered 'Keeping ane school for children to sew all sorts of seams and working of laces ... and to vend and sell the same as all other made linnings and other made work ... and als friely as any burgess and guild brother's daughter is in use to do...'.²² If this is the same shopkeeper twenty-two years later, she may on the strength of her earlier licence have simply expanded the selling rather than teaching side of her activities.

Women who persisted in trading although not free of the burgh or Company continued to pose a threat to the latter. When in 1704 a list of unfree traders was drawn up it was asked that a separate list be made up for women. In August 1710 the Company sent a representative to the Dean of Guild to complain of the great inconvenience occasioned by the many women shopkeepers in town who had no privilege. In May 1717 it was noted that the Master and assistants had been informed that

'Christian Kennoway and several other women who are not burgesses' daughters have considerable trade in apparell albeit noways legally qualified and the master and assistants informing that the same tends to the prejudice of burgesses' daughters and all members of the Company do nominate Hugh Hawthorn [and others] to meet with the master and treasurer at noon on Saturday at the house of Mr Robert Kello to consider fully those matters and to frame sic ane act they shall think proper'.²³

In spite of the fact that the Merchant Company normally insisted on women being free of the burgh before entering the Company, nevertheless when funds were low they appear to have been prepared to break the rules by accepting some women who were not legally qualified. For example, Anna Ewing and Anna Blair, 'acknowledged that they were not burgesses' daughters' but that they traded in 'needles, pins, laces and sometimes a little muslin'. They were fined 20 shillings for past transgressions which they 'instantly paid'; as they later appear in the minutes paying quarter dues they were apparently not debarred from further trading. Carola Young, first recorded in the minutes of 1704 and who later (1710) married Archibald McAulay, Lord Provost of Edinburgh, an official of the Merchant Company at various times, was fined on more than one

occasion for 'past transgressions', having traded without a licence. She was the daughter of George Young, minister at Kippen, and therefore had no legal right to trade, yet she and a partner, Helen Gilchrist, traded together from at least 1709 until 1713 and she herself was still trading in the 1730s. Several of her bills have survived, signed by herself both before and after her marriage. When McAulay entered the Merchant Company in 1710, the year Carola and he were married, the entry in the minutes reads,

'Archibald McAlla who is married to Carola Young, claims he is burgess, consigns his dues in the treasurer's hands and promises to produce his ticket and sign the book next meeting'.²⁴

This reference to Carola may signify that she could now trade by right of her husband. On the other hand, it may mean that McAulay entered the Company by right of his wife as she had been trading and paying dues for some time. According to the burgess roll McAulay was admitted burgess 'gratis for good services', a circumstance which limited trading rights; certainly, although McAulay is referred to elsewhere as merchant the business was actually his wife's.

Although it is possible that compared to men not many women served an apprenticeship, there is evidence to show that those who could afford it did so. As will be discussed later,²⁵ girls were apprenticed to merchants in the haberdashery retail trade. In the minutes of the Merchant Company several women are recorded as having been apprenticed which seems to suggest that apprenticeship did have some bearing on the right to trade if a woman was otherwise unfree. In the minutes of the Company for 1712, for example, several women

are recorded as having been apprenticed, with a note of how much they would be required to pay to enter the Company; poinds had been taken from them in the first instance.

'The treasurer took poinds from Jean Gordon, who was prenticed to Wm Cumming, from Lillias Campbell, who was prenticed to Agnes Broadfoot, from Annabella Aird, who served Charles Gray, and from Margaret Ross, who was prenticed to Francis Newton...'.²⁶

The treasurer was appointed to take £9 Scots from each of them and charged them 6d quarterly. If they married their husbands were to be allowed to enter as members and pay dues of entry.²⁶

A report of a Committee of Council in 1736 also refers to women's apprenticeship with regard to their right to trade in the burgh. The Committee concluded that,

'... as to these women who have served apprenticeships or [having served] are now carrying on trade, tho' not burgesses' children, [they] were of the opinion that the dean of guild and his court should permit them to trade for payment of £6 sterling'.

Unlike the £9 Scots paid by the apprenticed women in 1712 (above), this payment, it was decided, 'is to be sunk, and not to be allowed at their marriages, they also paying public burdens in proportion to their trade'.²⁷ There does seem to have been some advantage attached to having served an apprenticeship although it was not the qualifying privilege enjoyed by burgesses' daughters.

The only area where women without rights were legally entitled to retail apparel was the market, but here, too, there were rules to be obeyed. Information about the market can be gleaned from the minutes of the Merchant Company who also kept a watchful eye on the marketing of textiles.

An act of the Town Council of January 1696 details regulations regarding the market,

'for the better regulating of the abuses and disorders committed by unfree persons in the landmercat..., ordaine that noe unfree persons go up and down the streets and venels of this city ... or to private houses privately, to sell or keep mercat, great or small, except in the mercat day, mercat tyme and mercat place, which is on the Wednesday, betwix the weighhouse and the west end of the Lucken booths; and to the end that the mercat be regular and the High Street left free ..., that none presume to sitt down upon the High Street before the stands upon stones or stools, but that all hucksters and others who buy cloath to sell it again shall be obliged to take stands, and that it shall not be leisome to them, by themselves or their servants, to goe up and down the mercat with their cloath in their armes, but shall remain at their stands. As also that no unfree persons by or sell on one and the same mercate day nor keep any part of their ware that is unsold in house or sellars within the good town or suburbs thereof but that after the mercat is over they shall remove the same without the liberties of the burgh until the next mercat day...'.²⁸

In spite of the restrictions many retailers, women among them, were found defying the magistrates. On one occasion the town officer

'produced 5 ells of stryped muslin, $3\frac{3}{4}$ ells plain ditto, $3\frac{3}{4}$ ells course stripped Scots musline and 3 ells plain Scots ditto poinded from a woman who was found carrying them through the town with a folding yard in a napkin'.

Obviously she meant business. Her cloth was to be kept in the Merchants' Hall until 'she come and assert her title'.²⁹ Since the woman is not named it is impossible to learn the outcome. Another woman, Janet Hunter, confessed she sold stockings in the market and sometimes in her house, this being her only means of livelihood, but she denied selling anything else. She stated that her husband had been away from home for 7 years and was expected to return shortly, when he would 'make himself burgess and enter the Company'. The

officials decided that since she was poor they would forbear to fine her but charged her not to sell stockings except on market days or be fined.³⁰ Mary Seaton who lived at the head of Forrester's Wynd also acknowledged that,

'she sells linen in her chamber and exposes it to sale on mercat day and sells some few stockings which she gets from the north, having followed that trade for about 2 years'.

Her cloth was poulded and she was fined £20 Scots. She would not get the linen back until she paid the fine, and if the value of cloth was less than the fine then it was to be made up, presumably by stockings.³¹

There is little doubt that such women who sold in the market and held stocks of some variety would sell these goods at other times, and that it was well-known to certain buyers who these women were. An official was paid a bonus by the Company for his zeal in ferreting out those who were unfree. Some of those discovered were found to have been selling for others, sometimes merchants, men or women, from outside the burgh. It is impossible to assess how much of this kind of retailing was carried on but possibly there was already a good deal of it in the early part of the century. For example, Jean Langlands, widow of William Horn, shipmaster in Bo'ness, had been caught selling fabric to merchants in Edinburgh. She then gave a bond to the Merchant Company as a guarantee that she would not do so again, but shortly afterwards, in 1705, she was caught again and her cloth poulded. The cloth was roused but she declined to buy it back and it was bought by a merchant, Thomas Wilson.³² Of course, selling for others applied to commodities other

than textiles; persons outside the burgh paid women to sell their butter round the doors of Edinburgh, a practice that brought an angry response from the burgh's butter-wives.

Although only the sale of textiles and apparel came under the jurisdiction of the Merchant Company people who sold other goods had also to be legally qualified, that is, he or she had to have burgess rights or a licence from the Town Council. Such commodities were mainly foodstuffs and goods made by craftsmen. Shops kept by women who sold other than textiles were mostly grocers' shops, although the term 'grocer' does not appear to have been used until the second half of the century. With regard to goods made by craftsmen burgesses, such as saddlers, upholsterers, glaziers and white-iron smiths, women, either as wives or widows, carried on the retail side of the business.

For example, Rachael Auchinleck, the wife and later widow of Daniel McQueen, white-iron smith, continued the business after his death. She employed John Allan and John Farquharson, called 'white-iron smiths', presumably journeymen, to do the craftwork while she attended to the shop and took the orders.³³ She probably had had a long experience in the trade; her father, James Auchinleck, had also been a white-iron smith - Daniel McQueen, who may have been Auchinleck's apprentice, entered burgess in 1759 by right of his wife, Rachael. Her mother, Mary Rollo, although a baxter's daughter, had also helped to run her husband's business.

The other outlets available to women for retailing non-textile goods were the various markets, such as the fishmarket, fruit market, greens market, poultry market and butter market. These markets consisted of stalls organised by a tacksman who collected the stall-money. Selling was commonly done by the wives of the stallholders; the many cases of forestalling often involved women. The Town Council had made provision for those selling such commodities, but who were unfree:

'... the council do hereby empower and authorize the dean of guild and his council, ... to receive and admitt every inhabitant of both sexes as stallangers who shall appear to them to be unable to purchase their freedom, and thereby to give them liberty to deall and trade in retail of ale, beer, fish, milk, herbs, roots, fruit, cowfeeding, poultry, and suchlike small trade,... which admissions shall be renewed annually, otherwise to become void and null; and the sums to be severally paid for the said admissions not to exceed ten pound, nor to be under three pound...'.³⁴

Bessie Smith, for example, a seaman's widow, who had four small children, petitioned the Town Council for a licence to sell fruit. However, she also asked for time to pay, 'she not being able to pay much of anything at all'.³⁵

By the middle of the century prosecutions by the Town Council and Merchant Company had begun to diminish in scale. Perhaps they gave up the fight. It is significant that numbers of those prosecuted were said to have 'considerable trade' or to have been trading for several years. The Merchant Company's persistence against unfree traders may well have been maintained because of an upsurge in retailing itself. As the century advanced the clothing trades expanded, newspapers, with their improved opportunities for publicity, increased in circulation and for the remainder of the

century women continued to play a part in the advancement of a new consumer society.

2. THE SHOPS

In 1685 the Merchant Company petitioned the Town Council that 'all merchants that trade in the Companie's way to have and keep chops'.³⁶ There can be no doubt that behind this petition lay a desire on the part of the Company to identify individual shopkeepers. The three main shopping areas in the seventeenth century which were still in use at the turn of the century were the Krames, the Luckenbooths, Parliament Close and the adjacent High and Laigh Exchanges, sometimes known as 'the Royal' and 'Kincaid's' (or New) Exchange respectively. There was also a number of small shops around St Giles' church and the Tolbooth.

Henry Cockburn gives a good description of the Krames as they were when he was a boy in the late eighteenth century:

'It was a low narrow arcade of booths, crammed in between the north side of St Giles' Cathedral and a thin range of buildings that stood parallel to the Cathedral, the eastmost of which buildings, looking down the High Street, was the famous shop of William Creech, the bookseller... In my boyhood ... little stands, each enclosed in a tiny room of its own, and during the day all open to the little footpath that ran between the two rows of them, and all glittering with attractions, contained everything fascinating to childhood, but chiefly toys. It was like one of the Arabian Nights' bazaars in Bagdad. Throughout the whole year it was an enchantment.... The Krames was the paradise of childhood'.³⁷

Many women, however, had small booths in the Krames stocked with haberdashery and accessories such as muslin and fans and gloves. Some of them appear to have kept shop there for many years, and

references throughout the town council minutes show that women took long tacks to maintain their subsistence. For example, Christian Sandilands, a wright's daughter, and Lilian Anderson, a mason's widow, who were poor, both took tacks from the town for 19 years. Women continued to take tacks in the Krames well into the second half of the eighteenth century. The Krames themselves survived until 1817 when they were demolished.

The Luckenbooths had been built in the fifteenth century also on the High Street close to St Giles', but although they, too, were small booths or shops some of them were owned or possessed by fairly substantial merchants, some of whom were women selling haberdashery and clothing. The Luckenbooths also survived into the early nineteenth century.

Parliament Close is best known for its goldsmiths and booksellers but a number of women had shops nearby, around St Giles' and the Tolbooth. These shops on the whole were very small and often rented on long leases by the poor, especially by widows in order to eke out their existence. Some of these women, no longer able to retail may eventually have sub-let to others. Widow Greig had 'a little chop upon the Ladys Steppes at the east end of the Tolbooth', Widow Butterwell, 'a little chop at the Tolbooth door, free by an act of Council', Margaret Drummond had a tack of a 'little timber shop at the north door of the Tolbooth belonging to the town', for 19 years, and Margaret Thomson, widow of Hugh Smith, glover, obtained the tack of a shop lying on the east side of the north door of St Giles', for 12 years. Another widow, Isobel Gibson, had had a little shop at the foot of the Lady Steps which 'had been ruined and

demolished to stop the progress of the fire' which broke out in March 1700. She later asked permission from the Town Council to rebuild it and this was granted. These shops were not much more than cupboards, which was quite usual about this period. Writing about the New Exchange in London, built in the seventeenth century, Neil McKendrick observes:

'When one first reads of the plans for the New Exchange with its hundreds of new shops arranged on two floors it sounds immensely impressive, but when one learns that many were little more than booths five and a half feet deep and described by their tenants as suffering from "a want of storage for their wares ... the shoppes being, as it were, small chests rather than shoppes", one is considerably less impressed'.³⁸

The same was true in Edinburgh where Margaret Somerville, who was granted a tack of a piece of waste ground on which to build a shop, was told by the Dean of Guild that it must measure 5 feet from east to west in length and 3 feet in breadth.

The oldest Exchange, divided into the High and Laigh Exchanges, is seldom discussed in histories of Edinburgh. Yet at the end of the seventeenth century and beginning of the eighteenth century many shopkeepers, especially women, earned their livelihood there. In 1680 Thomas Robertson, a brewer turned builder, undertook to build an Exchange from a plan by Sir William Bruce of Balcaskie, H.M. Surveyor-General for Scotland.³⁹ It appears to have been built on waste ground south of Parliament Close and east of Parliament House, the building to be completed in 1681. Part of the contract between Robertson and the Town Council gives us a little information as to what the Exchange may have looked like:

'Thomas Robertson will be at extraordinary expenss

in ornamenting and bewtifieing of the said exchange in regaird of the carved work, that is to be upon the entrie, laying of the walks therof with black and whyt marbell and extraordinary work upon the pillars and seuerall other pairts of the samyn, which tends only to the bewtifieing of the said exchange which they conceave to be both hard and unjust that the same should be upon the said Thomas Robertson his own proper chairges...'; therefore, the Council bound themselves to pay him for these extras.⁴⁰

Marguerite Wood, in her article on the Exchange, tells us that

'... in spite of claims by the Town Council, Thomas Robertson managed to retain in his own hands the possession of several shops which formed part of the building. Without a plan, it is impossible to say what place they occupied. Only in one case is there any indication. Shop No. 9 is described as ninth southward from the common door of the Exchange. This suggests a passage through the building lined with shops. It could not have been long enough to contain all the shops. Robertson's discharges show that he owned twenty-two shops of which the highest numbered was 46. Therefore there cannot have been less than that number, and possibly more. Those which he had not retained probably had been sold by him outright. They must have brought him a substantial sum, for his own were rented variously at £36, £40, £42 and £48 Scots a year, and were sold at anything from ten to sixteen years' purchase'.

Unfortunately, on 31 March 1700 a catastrophic fire, said to have started in the meal market,

'consumed to ashes all the said mercat, all the Statlie buildings of the deceased Thomas Robertson on both sides of the Kirkheugh, the Exchange, and the whole Parliament Close, except the treasury house, which by great providence was preserved'.⁴¹

Many shopkeepers must have sustained substantial losses in goods as well as shop premises. The Council recommended the Dean of Guild 'to accommodate those who had chopes in the Exchange with Crames in the ordinar places, there to continue for some time during the Council's pleasure...'.⁴²

The Exchange was completely rebuilt by 1702. The engraver,

James Clerk, made a miniature brass dial for the use of the Exchange and the painter, Joseph Booth, gilded an inscription above the entry, 'cullering seuerall parts about the same with blue in oyll collors'. A Keeper of the Exchange was appointed part of whose duty was to fix up placards showing the departure times of ships from the port of Leith and elsewhere. He was also made overseer of the common criers, part of whose job was to intimate rouns, an integral feature of burgh life, especially for merchants to whom rouns were of some importance either for adding to their stock or for selling it.⁴³ The area of the Exchange adjacent as it was to the law courts must have been a very busy part of the town and a centre for information of all kinds.

The shops in the Exchange, like others in the vicinity, were very small, being called 'presses'. Shops in the illustration, 'The Glance',⁴⁴ thought to depict the New Exchange in London, probably resemble the presses or shops in the old Exchange in Edinburgh, which like shops elsewhere in the burgh measured about 5 feet by 3 feet.

Apart from these areas, the Krames, Luckenbooths, Parliament Close and the old Exchange, shops throughout the century could be found almost anywhere in the burgh. Some were part of the shopkeepers' dwelling houses; this was part of the objection to the late-eighteenth-century Shop Tax by the Edinburgh merchants, who claimed that it would be difficult to tax their shops as these were in such close proximity to their homes. Shops were also to be found in the many Closes in the High Street, some at ground level others reached by the turnpikes or scale stairs. Newspaper advertisements are reminders of how important it was to give detailed directions



Town was built and larger shops were established in South Bridge Street, Princes Street and George Street, the shops in the old town were generally small.

Towards the end of the century, however, shopkeepers did try to improve shopping facilities. Sibilla Hutton, drawn by John Kay and one of the most fashionable milliners in late eighteenth-century Edinburgh, decided to have a bow window in her High Street shop but was prevented from completing it by the Dean of Guild who alleged that she had gone ahead without permission.⁴⁷ Sibbie, however, appears to have been more ambitious than most for she took herself off to London towards the end of the eighteenth century. Perhaps while in London buying her merchandise she, like Sophia Von La Roche, had been impressed by the magnificence of the shops in Oxford Street. Sophia admired

'its street lighting, its brightly-lit shop fronts and glimpses of living and workrooms through the illuminated showrooms. She admired the displays of silks, chintzes and muslins hanging down in folds in the large, high windows so that the effect of the folds of a dress could be seen, and how one colour looked with the others, "but the linen shops are the loveliest; every kind of white wear, from swaddling clothes to shrouds, and any species of linen can be had. Night caps for ladies and children trimmed with muslin and various kinds of Brussels lace, more exquisitely stitched than ever before".⁴⁸

It was not till the next century, however, that Edinburgh could boast of shops as elegant as those described by Sophia Von La Roche. By the 1820s many Princes Street houses were being turned into shops and by the 1840s, 'Princes Street was said to contain most of the best-stocked, highest rented and most handsome business premises in the city'.⁴⁹

3. BUYING AND SELLING

As a work-option the retail trade presented a woman with a number of challenges of which obtaining credit was probably the most formidable. Not only had she to obtain credit but to stay in credit she had to retain her reputation as someone who could be trusted and whose character was at least seen to be above reproach. As will be shown below a person's livelihood could be badly damaged, if not destroyed, by slanderous accusations.

A woman also needed some knowledge of merchandising for even a small business such as the possession of a shop or 'press' in the Exchange required a certain amount of 'know-how', with regard to merchandise and making up fashion accessories and also some education in writing and arithmetic. For example, she required some form of business book to enable her to keep up to date with customer-transactions, even if only a day book. It is significant that all apprentices, journeywomen and those women called 'servants' in the shops who have been noted in this study could sign their names.

Another important requirement in the retail trade was either knowing or becoming known to a wide variety of customers. Social contacts were extremely important particularly before newspaper advertising became common or if the shopkeeper could not afford to advertise. This aspect of retailing is reflected in a letter of 1756 to an Edinburgh shopkeeper, Janet Mushet, from her future partner Ann Buchanan, a niece of the laird of Polmaise in Stirlingshire:

'There is no fear of my getting employment as I have so many relations for there is all the Keir folks Lady Helen Colquhoun Lady Grace Campbell Mrs Smollet and many my dear that is needless to

name...'.⁵⁰

Such a requirement might be too much of a challenge for a woman who was little known or was not in contact with influential people in the burgh or involved with other merchant burgesses: that is, a woman who was not a burgess's daughter, wife or widow, or related to professional people. It must be emphasised that for much of the eighteenth century in the world of buying and selling, status depended more on social contacts and family background than on the amount of money possessed. Indeed, some influential burgesses who were involved in the affairs of the Town Council and Merchant Company were not worth a great deal in financial terms.⁵¹

In the eighteenth century setting up a business, however small, required spending power; premises had to be rented, merchandise had to be bought and, with the exception of the Exchange where they were probably part of the shops or presses, furniture such as shelves and counters (broad's) had to be purchased, second-hand or new. These provisions applied to women as well as men, for women in the grocery or textile trades needed counters, scales and yard-sticks (wands) for measuring, goosing irons and screens for finishing and poles on which to hang garments. This equipment was usually although not invariably necessary before selling could begin.

The use of the credit economy in the eighteenth century with its widespread use of the bill of exchange and promissory note for paying short-term debts meant that a small shopkeeper, especially in the early part of the century, could set up with very little cash: small stocks could be got on credit and selling could begin before

the commodities were actually paid for. In a world where risk and trust were an essential part of trading, obtaining credit depended absolutely on the shopkeeper's reputation; family and trading connections were all-important. As T.M. Devine puts it:

'the business world was ... a tight nexus in which a merchant's reputation and that of his family was his most precious asset; to deal with kith and kin and trusted acquaintances was not simply understandable but justifiable. Nepotism had a basic commercial rationale'.⁵²

The tightness of this nexus can be illustrated from a letter written by the Edinburgh merchant Robert Blackwood to a Company in London who had asked for information about a potential Edinburgh customer. Blackwood wrote:

'... you ask to be informed about James Thomson a merchant here he is not of my acquaintance however [I] have enquired at my neighbours about him whom I find as ignorant as myself telling me in general he was a chapman in the country ... he has come in here at Martinmas last and set up a shop dealing in all manner of things mainly with chapmen so being a mere stranger among us all, I cannot and will not advise you to deal with him till he is better known in the place...'.⁵³

On his side Blackwood, who also acted as a factor on behalf of London wholesalers selling to many Edinburgh merchants, men and women, asked Prudom and Company to find out about the wife of Alexander Brown, one of Prudom's debtors, whose business Blackwood conducted. In spite of the fact that a case against Brown was pending in the Court of Session his wife had taken a coach to London to buy more goods, since her husband did not dare to show his face there.

'... his [Brown's] wife is now in London because her husband would not venture there as long as this plea of yours depends against them... She will go under Mrs Brown or Mrs Malloch which is her own name'.

Blackwood apparently continued his search for shortly afterwards he wrote again to Prudom, adding a postscript:

'I desire to know under what name she went, for what goods she bought cannot be said to be hers but her husband's, although she was the buyer'.⁵⁴

Reputation, however, was related not only to creditworthiness but also to the shopkeeper's personal character. As John Brewer points out:

One needed to be or, at least, needed to appear to be a man with such characteristics [reliability and generosity] in order to carry on trade: to 'keep up your reputation', 'preserve your integrity', 'maintain your credit'. Whereas the language of personal trust had originally provided the metaphors for borrowing and lending, now, in a curious transposition, the language of finance was employed metaphorically to depict moral and social worth. Thus phrases such as 'to give a person credit for something' acquired their standard usage in the mid-eighteenth century. Presentation of self as sober, reliable, candid and constant was not merely a question of genteel manners, but a matter of economic survival'.⁵⁵

Brewer's connection between credit and reputation is underlined by cases of scandal. In the eighteenth century these were taken seriously as a possible means of ruining not only a person's character but also his or her livelihood. Two examples of eighteenth-century Edinburgh scandals will show that women's involvement in commercial activity within the burgh was taken seriously and that it was recognised that they ran the same risk as men when it came to making their living and 'staying in credit'.

In 1719 it was said in the burgh court on behalf of four women shopkeepers in the Exchange who had raised an action against Jean Edmonston, spouse of John Grant, writer, for slander

Your honours will observe that the pursuers being of the female sex and following virtuously a lawful trade their reputation is of the highest value and if in

any manner it be impaired or brought under suspicion they are insofar ruined...⁵⁶

The second case, this time in the commissary court in 1782, concerned Mary Simpson and Elizabeth Glen, fleshers' widows, Mary having slandered Elizabeth in the Fleshmarket Close.

[Elizabeth Glen had for some time] supported herself and infant family in a very credible way by retailing the offal of cattle and other small articles in the Fleshmarket Close of Edinburgh... some of those present [when the allegations were made] were the complainer's well wishers and were in use to employ her in retailing the offals of their own cattle. But from what passed they threatened to withdraw their employment whereby the complainer and her family will be greatly injured and cast destitute.

Later, in Elizabeth Glen's answer to Mary Simpson's defences, it was objected that

The defender maintains a very strange doctrine, viz. that she resides in the Fleshmarket close and that her common Dialect is nothing else but a repetition of the expression libelled against others of her neighbours. From thence she infers she cannot be guilty of the crime of scandal. If such is her practice there is with submission the greater reason for taking cognisance of her conduct and making her an example. For the law allows no person of whatsoever rank to defame or abuse their neighbours especially with an animus to ruin their credit and vilify their character to the world. The pursuer knows nothing of the practice of Billingsgate in England where the defender says scandal is not actionable. If the defender got her instructions at this school she ought to have given over practice when she came to this country as the subjects of this kingdom are tried by its own laws.⁵⁷

It is not surprising that cases of scandal should have been taken seriously in a town which had a comparatively small trading precinct. Although for most of the eighteenth century Edinburgh was the largest town in Scotland it consisted mainly of one long street where traders not only carried on their business but also had their

dwelling houses nearby. In another case of scandal, for instance, one of the women concerned was able to walk from her house straight into the greens market where she had her stall. Business was often conducted where people met socially, in coffee houses and taverns or simply in the street, where traders could quickly pick up significant news; it is a well-known fact that the Edinburgh merchants made little use of the new Exchange when it was built for business purposes in 1760.

The familiarity among traders created within such a close community may have provided a certain stability. Just how familiar tradespeople must have been with one another is illustrated by such credit networks as those of Robert Blackwood already referred to. The names of the same shopkeepers, male and female, occur over and over again in Blackwood's letter book and ledger, which is also true of the surviving business books, however fragmentary, of other Edinburgh wholesalers. The surviving ledger of John Bell,⁵⁸ an Edinburgh merchant and linen-draper, covers the years 1707 to 1724. Among the many shopkeepers with whom he did business are about 100 women. The ledger gives details of the commodities they bought from him and of how much of their debt they had repaid. It also contains lists of other women with whom he dealt and references to other ledgers that have not survived. It is clear that vast numbers of shopkeepers were known to wholesalers like Blackwood and Bell, some of the shopkeepers renting shops as well as buying goods from them. It is also obvious that many merchants on the same wholesalers' books would be known to one another.

A close-knit trading community was also created by

L m
 circumstances such as apprenticeship and inter-marriage. Learning a business was only part of apprenticeship; what was just as important if the apprentice hoped to set up independently was making the acquaintance of a master's business contacts and customers. Not only would the apprentice learn who to trust but he himself would become known. This knowledge might be extended by being sent to London. For example, when Yaxley Davidson became apprenticed it was written into his indenture that he might be sent to London to give him experience in the trade. In London the apprentice would find his way around and no doubt it was to his advantage to represent a master of some reputation and to be vouched for himself. When James Graham, who had been Robert Blackwood's apprentice, went to London to buy goods his master recommended him as 'an honest, sober, virtuous youth'.⁵⁹

Apprenticeship could be an advantage to women as well as men. Although only those girls whose relatives could afford the fee had formal apprenticeships it would appear that a fair number of girls served an informal apprenticeship in the retail textile trades, eventually becoming journeymen, some setting up on their own unmarried or as wives of male merchants. Some wives continued in the trade for which they had been trained although their husbands might be craftsmen or professional men. Girls were not always apprenticed to women; some were apprenticed to male merchants. In the retail trade women could also build up a reputation for being in contact with other experienced traders. Miss English, for example, could boast in the Edinburgh Advertiser of having been 'trained by the Miss Youngs'. The latter were the daughters of Thomas Young at

one time treasurer to the Merchant Company, who although a substantial merchant himself set up his daughters in a separate shop in the Luckenbooths. They like many of these 'young lasses' who set up in the Exchange in the early part of the century had probably watched their parents buying and selling and were familiar with their business contacts and customers during what was virtually an informal apprenticeship.

The possibility of making friends and acquaintances during apprenticeship may well explain to some extent the prevalence of partnerships for although some of these partnerships were made up of two or more relatives, such as sisters or cousins, there were others in which the partners were not related to each other at all. Defoe made clear in The Complete English Tradesman (1726) that to his mind partnership should be avoided if possible:

I cannot but seriously warn the honest industrious tradesman if possible to stand on his own legs, and go upon his own bottom; to pursue his business diligently but cautiously...

He went on to advise that if partnership was absolutely necessary, then

... let your partner be a beginner, that his stock may be reasonably supposed to be free and unentangled; and let him be one that you know personally, and his circumstances, and did know ever before you had any thoughts of engaging together.⁶⁰

However, in the case of women it may possibly have been the advantages of pooling limited resources and sharing a rent that encouraged them to seek a partner. Skills may also have influenced the decision to take a partner, as in the case of the milliners, Knox and Stark, who took in Margaret MacAulay as a partner. Margaret was

*The oath of each Burges Given at his admission
before God your Lord* That I profess & allowe with my heart the
the Religion presently professed within this Realme and authoreed by the Lawes thereof & that
I shall be true and true to our Sovereign Lord King of England the firm and true Successor
of the Provoost & Bailiffs of this Burgh & that obay the officers of this Burgh & that I shall maintain
and defend them execution of their offices with my body and goods & that I shall keep and custody the
statutes & Statutes of this Burgh & that I shall not receive nor receive any other colour of money
I shall not purchase & I shall not sell nor authorise nor allow to the freemen of this Burgh for any
howe & that I shall keep and custody all other charters to be given upon this Burgh & that I shall willingly bear
my part as I am commanded by the magistrates thereof and that I shall use every means to be
used thereof & that I shall keep the burgh of the same for ever and especially I shall not permit nor
procure any Men or women to be parties in any directly nor indirectly & finally I shall not
attempt to do any thing hurtfull to the liberties & freedom of this Burgh and so oft as
I shall have any power of this my oath I shall keep me by up to the common affairs of this Burgh
and I shall not receive nor receive any other colour of money and I shall remain in this Burgh and within the same by peace &
so help me God and his good blessing &

*The oath of each Gilbertson Given at his admission
before God your Lord* That I profess & allowe with my heart the
the Religion presently professed within this Realme and authoreed by the Lawes thereof & that
I shall be true and true to our Sovereign Lord King of England the firm and true Successor
of the Provoost & Bailiffs of this Burgh & that obay the officers of this Burgh & that I shall maintain
and defend them execution of their offices with my body and goods & that I shall keep and custody the
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so help me God and his good blessing &

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and I have been of James & Anne Dean of York and the City Council the

a mantuamaker and presumably had the ability to make up garments which Knox and Stark could not make themselves but might be asked to supply, cloaks for example.

In the business world marriage was also a binding agent that could enhance a shopkeeper's reputation and extend credit facilities. For example, although the advocate John Polson was able to obtain burgess-ship by right of his shopkeeper wife Ann Strachan who had paid 100 merks for her freedom to trade before they were married, no doubt Ann also benefited by marrying an advocate who could introduce her to prospective customers and advise on credit. Archibald MacAulay, who appears to have had few financial resources of his own, as already noted, married the shopkeeper Carola Young and from then on was designated 'merchant', although the business was his wife's. Carola on her part would also reap some rewards, for her husband (although from outside Edinburgh) was at various times bailie, Lord Provost, master of the Merchant Company, a member of the Board of Trustees for Manufactures and an elder of the church. These positions could bring a shopkeeper into contact not only with a wide variety of customers but many people of public authority and influence.

For those who were able to obtain credit the longest time allowed by wholesalers for payment of short-term debts was probably about six months. However, entries in Blackwood's letter book suggest that shopkeepers sometimes haggled over the length of time allowed in which to pay their debts. Blackwood wrote to Prudom and Company in London, a Company with whom he appears to have dealt

Opposite: Extract of admission of Mr John Polson, advocate, as burgess and guildbrother of Edinburgh, 16 January 1730; he paying 100 merks, as his wife Anna Strachan had paid 100 merks for a licence to trade in 1724 (E.C.A. Moses Bundle 273, No. 8640)

extensively both for himself and on behalf of others,

Received yours ordering to allow Isobel Brown 3 or 4 months more than on the bill drawn on her which certainly you mean on the bill drawn on Carola Young, and this day I sent again to her desiring she might accept it on these terms, who refused to accept it under six months time as she has always had of you. Please advise if you will grant it or not.

On another occasion he wrote to the Company,

I received yours with 3 bills, viz., one drawn by Carola Young on Helen Gilchrist [her partner] for £31, this fell due 2nd inst. but she says that you would not stand upon a month or two longer, which if you did you will please advise me thereof so that I can regulate myself accordingly...⁶¹

Prudom granted the request, for a later entry reads, '... have yours of 19th allowing forbearance of 2 months for Carola Young which shall be done'.

Some shopkeepers, however, did not trouble to haggle but simply did not pay. Janet Good, who had been in company with her sister before marriage, ran up bills with several London merchants. When she died suddenly shortly after her marriage in 1766 her debts were of two years' standing. The sisters had continued in business as milliners although they both married candlemakers. Some of the bills were for over £100.⁶² Other shopkeepers were in even greater debt to London firms. The MacLeod sisters owed a London supplier of straw-hat plaiting £271 in 1804, and Magdalene Dunbar when she went bankrupt in 1815 owed bills of £104, £132, £169 and £290 to London merchants. Such debts suggest that wholesalers accepted the risks that such credit brought and even appear to have trusted a person's word at a distance without necessarily being aware of the local circumstances. When the MacLeod sisters forwarded £15 of their debt to Garfield and Pugh, with a promise to pay the rest later, the firm

wrote back,

We can place a reliance upon your intention and we therefore with confidence await a favourable time till you have it in your power again to remitt us which we expect will be immediately after Christmas, the £15 we have received will be placed to your credit.⁶³

This letter was used in the MacLeod's defence in court when they were accused of having deceived their creditors. They eventually went bankrupt in 1805.

Of course, the shopkeepers had the same problems as the wholesalers, indeed the MacLeods' disastrous bankruptcy was partly the result of non-payment by customers, and although the shopkeepers themselves continued to buy on credit there is some evidence to suggest that they were becoming disgruntled with customers' credit and that they much preferred ready cash. In a letter to the Edinburgh Advertiser in 1764 'A Milliner' asserted that credit gave the shopkeeper a great deal of trouble and that customers ought to pay ready money, especially for small articles. She complained that she required to put very small amounts down in her book and to send the goods to the customer. When the customer did not pay the shopkeeper found it necessary to keep sending copies of the bill, after which if no payment was forthcoming she had to go to the customer's house in order to obtain payment. The Editor of the newspaper agreed with the complainer and asked, 'would it not be better both for buyer and seller to pay ready money for all small articles, to under ten or twenty shillings at one time, as is the almost universal practice in England?'; he added that the shopkeeper could 'keep a clerk fewer, as his accounts would be much curtailed, of consequence he might afford to deal on more reasonable terms'.

When a complaint was made in 1751 by a customer about the amount of interest charged by a shopkeeper it was answered that, 'merchants in this country have for ordinary no great stocks and are for the most part supplied from abroad. If they do not keep terms with those by whom they are furnished their credit is at once blasted, and how is it possible for them to maintain their credit if at a distance of so many years they should be put off by non-payment of accounts stated at the same prices as the very same goods would have been charged if sold for ready money or upon a few months' credit?'⁶⁴

Certainly the practice of paying by ready money appears to have taken much longer to become established in Edinburgh than in London. When Mungo Murray in London wrote a begging letter to his brother the laird of Polmaise in the 1740s asking for financial help to set up his daughter Elizabeth in the millinery business he complained, 'you can get nothing here without ready money'.⁶⁵ By the last quarter of the century, however, at least some Edinburgh shopkeepers were insisting on ready money. Sibbie Hutton, a well-known Edinburgh milliner, informed bargain-hunters at her sale that only ready money would be accepted.

For even the average shopkeeper books had to be regularly kept, for which the better-off retained or hired a clerk. Several business books are listed in the creditors' sederunt book relating to the milliner-dressmaker Magdalene Dunbar's bankruptcy in 1815: a ledger, a day-book, a scroll or waste book, a cash-book, invoice book, stock book and a book of payments. Clearly, if customers quibbled about merchandise asserting that they had not received it, detailed records were vital. Sometimes merchants undertook to do

book-keeping for others but some women did employ a clerk to take charge of this side of the business. As noted in the letter to the Edinburgh Advertiser, when customers ignored their debts the shopkeeper had to call at the house herself in an attempt to get in her money. When every method had been tried, however, and debts were still unpaid the shopkeeper would resort to an intimation in the newspaper to the effect that if outstanding debts were not paid 'the more disagreeable method' would be taken, and indeed prison records bear out that some shopkeepers did have their debtors imprisoned.

Customers like the shopkeepers themselves often made part-payments which were far from substantial, being described in one instance as 'niggardly'. Surviving day-books show just how difficult it was to get ready money in. They also reveal that the bad payers were not only tradesmen with small returns or customers with small incomes. For example, when Magdalene Dunbar became bankrupt the debts of Lady Mary Hamilton, Lady Elizabeth Montgomerie and Lady Cathcart were listed among 'bad and doubtful debts' and, indeed, Lady Cathcart's debts were among those roused.⁶⁶

4. Commodities bought and sold

Textiles

Merchandise found in the shops of eighteenth-century women shopkeepers reflects the fact that many of the fashion articles which they sold were made by hand on the premises. This is the basic difference between eighteenth- and nineteenth-century shopping. Articles of clothing such as stocks, cravats, aprons, handkerchiefs, heads⁶⁷ of all kinds, flounces, neckerchiefs, napkins, pockets and

cloaks were all bespoke and made up to the customer's requirements. Not all of these were made by apprentices and journeywomen, some were made up by the milliner or shopkeeper. The milliner Katherine Ramsay, for example, deponed in court that she had made up some of the articles in question herself.

Because of the bespoke trade the fabrics and trimmings bought by the women were mostly those from which the above articles could be made. This is revealed in surviving bills which show that the customer was charged separately for the fabric and the making-up. Thus the shopkeepers bought fabrics such as linen, gauze, muslin, lawn, flannel, cambric, crape and persian. Trimmings such as ribbons, braids, lace and swansdown were used for decoration. On the whole women tended to stock the finer fabrics for women's accessories and the male merchant stocked the heavier cloths for garments such as mantuas and men's wear. The women also stocked rolls and wire for the hair (milliners kept skeleton-wire for shaping hats), jewellery and perfumes such as hungary water. Other commodities that had to be bought in ready-made included clogs, pattens, pumps, girdles, gloves, mittens, fans, masks, pins and needles; the quantities of the last two items stocked by the shopkeepers indicate their importance. In the eighteenth century pins were used for holding garments together as well as for more usual purposes. Needles were a most important commodity in a society where all textile articles were made by hand; they were required not only by the Edinburgh housewife but also by seamstresses, milliners, mantuamakers (i.e. dressmakers), quilters, buttonmakers, deadclothes-makers and female pupils learning to sew at

the many boarding schools in the capital. They were also required by men, including glovers, tailors, shoemakers, staymakers, saddlers, feltmakers (i.e. hatmakers), and upholsterers. Needles were often bought in large quantities; Margaret Bailie in the Exchange bought 1,000 at one time. The amounts of lace and ribbon stocked also reflect their fashionable use; Agnes Crichton, also in the Exchange, bought 458 yards of lace in 1711, and in the shop inventory of the milliner Christian Learmonth over 600 yards of ribbon are listed.⁶⁸ Out of this 600 yards or so 241 yards was black mourning ribbon used for weepers, stocks, caps, cloaks, aprons and girdles. In his Memorials of Edinburgh Chambers notes that it took twelve yards and upwards to make a full suit of ribbons; it is not surprising, therefore, that vast amounts of ribbon were sold and used by shopkeepers, especially those who specialised in millinery goods.

Shopkeepers, especially the milliners, also acted to some extent as laundresses; customers sent back caps and bonnets, stocks and 'suits' of lace to be re-dressed. This service appears from time to time on bills. Some specialised in joining and repairing lace and customers sometimes handed in linen articles to be made up into fashionable accessories. Quilting was usually undertaken by specialists, some shopkeepers stocked childbed-linen and some milliners made graveclothes, although the last were usually made by specialists.

So far it has not been ascertained how early ready-made garments became available in Scotland. According to Margaret Spufford it is possible that in certain areas of England ready-made

clothing was available in the seventeenth century.⁶⁹ However, there is very little evidence that such clothing was available in Scotland in any significant quantity. Certainly, surviving bills for clothing all record the making up until the end of the eighteenth century. In London it may have been different, for although the Edinburgh milliner Janet Anderson always made up articles herself, the fact that she was asked by 'the ladies' to go to London and bring back commissions for them may suggest that she was able even at that period to buy headwear and other garments made up.

In Scotland, however, certain basic articles may have been made up in quantity. For example, the wife of Alexander Little, a soldier in Lochiel's Regiment, made up dozens of shirts for the Regiment. These were sold through a merchant James Black; this is revealed in a court process.⁷⁰ There was also a shirt manufacturer in the Canongate for whom women appear to have made up shirts at home. These were later collected and taken to the manufactory, but little appears to be known about this activity.⁷¹ Until research has been done in this area the scale on which women produced garments in bulk cannot be known. However, it is unlikely that they would have sold to private shops but rather to a wholesale merchant. When newspaper advertising became important to shopkeepers as a method of making themselves known, ready-made articles of various kinds are listed in detail, but these had been bought in London or, as the century progressed, such provincial towns as Manchester.

Fashion played a crucial part in the success or otherwise of the eighteenth-century shopkeeper, who had to know what public demand

would be in any particular season and buy accordingly. The frustration that might be experienced in buying the wrong merchandise is illustrated in Robert Blackwood's letters to Prudom and Company. On one occasion he wrote irritably,

'As for your gold stuff, I am wondered at by everyone who sees them for buying them...'.⁷¹

The fashion that sold in London did not necessarily sell in Edinburgh, something which Blackwood found to his cost:

'I have yet a parcel of silks upon my hand to the value of £120 sterling and upwards which are not much called for here, lutestring being more in use, and I know the use never goes out with you, therefore if you will allow me to send them up I will take it as a singular favour'.⁷²

Otherwise, he told Prudom, 'it will be dead stock in my hand'. Another shopkeeper, Mrs Dunbar, regretted that she had bought two pieces of fabric and was afraid they would not sell. She asked to be allowed to send them back in return for more suitable goods.⁷³ Requests for goods that were not available at home could be a problem for this might mean waiting for some time. In 1712 Janet Anderson had to write to her father, James Anderson the author of the Diplomata Scotiae, who was then in London asking him if he would be 'pleased to mind my dozen of housewives if it be not troublesome'.⁷⁴

Even if care was taken to explain what was required the result could be unsatisfactory. Robert Blackwood ordered up some fabric patterns from Prudom in February 1710:

Please send some patterns of silk and worsteds ... of grave-coloured or another thing that is newer fashioned which is for a gown and coat to my wife... also patterns of a lighter silk stuff stripped plain and changing not flowered for a gown and coat to my daughter about 12 years old...'.⁷⁵

In March he received some patterns and wrote back to Prudom, much annoyed:

The patterns were no way answerable to what I wrote for being old fashioned too light and flowered which my wife cannot wear for it was plain silk and watered... and for my daughter was of some handsome light silk stuff plain changing or stripped without flowers. I am sure you had not my letter by you when the swatches were cutt, or you thought we would be easily pleased...⁷⁴

Such letters reveal the trouble that had to be taken in order to provide for the Edinburgh fashion world. Although these letters were written by an important male-merchant, other evidence shows that many women shopkeepers were just as immersed in the business world and just as anxious to be seen to be providers of up-to-date fashions. Indeed, although going to London to buy became the normal thing to do by the second half of the century even for women, the fact is that in spite of the state of the roads and the hazards of travelling by sea from Leith, some women did travel to London very early in the century. Janet Anderson, already referred to, wrote to her brother in 1717, disliking the thought of going to London but accepting that it was necessary, 'for I belief our whole marchins in Edinburgh his bin there this season and you know that it is what plises the ladies...'.⁷⁵ On one occasion, when travelling by sea from Leith to London, Janet lost a cargo of goods and nearly her life. When it is considered just how much organisation was required to make sure that goods were properly packed, picked up by carriers, dispatched with the goods of other merchants also going by sea, and making sure that they were collected when they did arrive in Leith, it is surprising that women shopkeepers were not content to buy from Edinburgh merchants. The constant reminders in letters to make sure

that goods were well-packed underlines the problem of keeping merchandise in reasonable condition while in transit by various sorts of transport and in all kinds of weather.

The many women shopkeepers in this study stocked more or less similar commodities and it is surprising that so many of them managed to survive. The draw of the capital city for all kinds of people probably accounts for this. The hundred women in Bell's ledger stocked almost identical articles. Perhaps pricing played some part in the art of survival. A shopkeeper in the Exchange complained to the Master of the Merchant Company that another woman, Janet Williamson, took away a customer from her shop saying that she (Janet) could give her muslin much cheaper than offered by the complainer.⁷⁶ However, although many women in the textile trade seem to have survived some women like Mrs Stewart were forced out. This shopkeeper informed the Merchant Company that she was going back into service, 'she having had no encouragement'.⁷⁷

Commodities other than Textiles:

As has already been stated, women involved in selling commodities other than textiles were mainly those selling 'groceries' or 'dry goods'. Shops attached to crafts and trades were also very often run by the wife or widow of the craftsmen or tradesmen.

In the eighteenth as in the nineteenth century grocers' shops stocked a wide variety of goods and in the eighteenth century especially, were most likely to be what were later known as 'Jenny-a'-Things': brushes, soap, candles, ink, thread and firret, as well as cheese, raisins, sugar, vinegar, spices and tea. Some male

merchants sold wholesale and retail. Mrs Bell and her daughter, for instance, who were 'in Company', bought brushes for re-sale in their shop from John McIntosh a wholesale brushmaker. Orders for commodities such as raisins might be commissioned from a merchant-shipmaster trading abroad and white sugar might be bought from the sugar-house. A surviving ledger lists the names of women who were buying from the company of the South Sugar House.⁷⁸ From evidence elsewhere some of these women are known to have been grocers and confectioners supplying biscuit and plum cake for funerals. Margaret Hepburn, a minister's daughter, and her partner, Lillas Christie, turn up several times in this ledger and their bills, of which a number survive, show that women like themselves were providing many customers with such funeral requirements as 'fine', 'mixed' or 'common' biscuit as well as plum and seed cake. Some like Mrs Spalding in the Canongate may have baked some of their own supplies as this kind of commodity appears to have been reckoned outwith the work of the baxters' incorporation.⁷⁹ Betty Haig, for example, charged a customer not only for $2\frac{1}{2}$ pecks of flour and 5 pounds of butter but also for baking the shortbread.⁸⁰ Throughout the century women are also found selling bread, which may seem surprising since the baxters themselves usually had shops. However, so long as these women bought the loaves from the burgh baxters presumably the latter raised no objection. Some women, like Marion Hunter, may have been baxters' widows. In 1691 Marion petitioned the town council that her annuity tax (see Footnote 81, below) might be reduced, as she 'had only a little shop for selling bread',⁸¹ but there are other women, who do not appear to have had any connection

with the baxters' incorporation, who sold bread for their subsistence. For example, there was Elizabeth Webster, wife of Daniel Grant, candlemaker, who alleged that her husband had gone off to London and left her with a child and that she lived by selling 'small drink and farles of bread'. Marion Dickson, a widow, kept herself alive by selling bread and old shoes. Both women petitioned the town council for a reduction in their stent.⁸² Presumably these women bought small loaves from the baxters and made a penny on their re-sale.

As already noted, the shops of burgesses who were craftsmen and tradesmen were often in the charge of wives so that when the husband died his widow merely carried on the trade. The fact that such trades as saddlers, upholsterers, glaziers and white-ironsmiths required a trained craftsman does not appear to have debarred the wives from carrying on the business, and indeed, continuing to run the retail side. The many bills that survive, often signed by the craftsman's wife or widow bear testimony to the fact that the wives were closely involved in the business. For example, Agnes Campbell, widow of Andrew Anderson, printer, carried on business for many years after her husband's death, even going to court to claim the renewal of her patent.

When women continued a business they probably continued to stock the same commodities as before, so that when, in 1764, Isobel Grieve, a glazier's widow, eventually had to give up the business it was stated in court that 'Mrs Grieve has continued since her husband's death to deal in the same commodities which her husband did in his lifetime so it is absolutely impossible to say with certainty

whether the goods on hand in the shop are the same identical goods which were to the fore at the defunct's death or not...'.⁸³

Bills are also evidence of the fact that widows supplied the same goods as their husbands even if the latter were craftsmen. Rachael Auchinleck, the widow of Daniel McQueen, sent out this bill in 1778:

To a long case	4d
a large oval box	1s 6d
a small globe	4s 6d
3 small scoops	6d
basketting the handles of a teapot	6d
a case for a bottle	4d
	<hr/>
	7s 8d ⁸⁴

Another widow, Elizabeth Brown, designated 'saddler in Edinburgh', supplied various articles presumably made by the journeyman she employed to work for her. Two of her bills contain items such as a small satin hat trimmed with gold and a velvet and two satin caps bound with silk looping, which she may well have sewn herself, but also articles obviously made by an experienced craftsman: a green stamped cotton saddle, a saddle and 'furniture', a painted front for a bridle and a hunting whip.⁸⁵

Seedsman's shops would be left to a wife while the seedsman was employed in the gardening side of the business or with the actual buying. On the death of her seedsman husband Christian Mitchell continued to sell seeds and run the business and is identified in a court process as 'Mrs Drummond, seedmerchant'. After the death of

Archibald Eagle, supplier of seed to agricultural improvers, Margaret Murray his widow continued to trade, advertising in the newspapers and continuing to supply the customers on the order books, while William Hamilton's widow put an advertisement in the Caledonian Mercury in 1752 informing the public that new seeds had arrived at her shop in the West Bow and that 'she has had the opportunity of trying the chief articles since the seeds came home and finds they grow exceedingly well'. Such women would already be familiar with the way the business operated and when their husbands died they merely carried on selling the same merchandise and supplying their regular customers.

There were specialist shops such as those selling art materials, patterns and drawings. Helen and Jane Norrie, probably related to the burgess painters John and Robert Norrie, supplied quills, brushes, paints, white lead and other drawing materials.⁸⁶ As boarding schools for girls multiplied in the course of the century materials of this kind were much in demand. Patterns were required for embroidery of all kinds, for gold and silver work. Gold and silver thread could be had at the gold lace Manufactory run by Elizabeth Bowie and Company.⁸⁷ Girls were also taught painting on gauze and drawing itself was taught by drawing masters who went into the schools, as did teachers of miniature painting. Before setting up her boarding school for girls Mary Espline, Mrs Lawrence the wife of an engraver, had a shop at 'The Hand and Pen' where she sold patterns for embroidery. She also took in lace for mending and joining and held classes (probably in the back-shop) in all sorts of embroidery.⁸⁸ In spite of the presence of many small shops where a

customer could buy almost anything specialist shops continued for most of the century.

The customers

Four basic categories of customer bought from women shopkeepers. These were the aristocracy, the gentry, the professions (that is, army officers, ministers, lawyers, teachers, etc.) and male merchants, craftsmen and tradesmen. The very poor would probably buy in the market or buy second-hand. Since comparatively few business books have survived, evidence about those who were buying must be sought elsewhere. With regard to bills, however, good sources are available.

Many bills for the aristocracy and gentry have accumulated in family papers. These are usually detailed, giving the name of the shopkeeper who made and supplied the goods, and are usually signed by the shopkeeper herself. Examples of customers in this category who bought from women include the Countesses of Dalhousie, Panmure, Lauderdale, Morton, Cassillis, Roxburgh and Melville. Among the gentry were the Clerks of Penicuik, the Dundas family, the Campbells of Barcaldine, Hall of Dunglass and Watsons of Saughton. The shopkeepers not only supplied goods for the women of these families but also articles such as stocks, gloves, weepers [white mourning cuffs added to the coat] and shirts for the men.

Bills for other types of customer are to be found in the records of the Commissary Court; when someone died there were the 'preferable debts' to be paid first, that is the funeral charges



which included the graveclothes made by women, the surgeon's bills, the mourning for the widow, family and servants, and the servants' wages. All these bills were 'allowed' before the creditors got their hands on the estate. The mourning for the widow and family usually resulted in bills from shopkeepers, milliners and mantuamakers.

Another source of bills is to be found in the burgh court processes, that is papers accruing from court cases. Women often protested bills in the burgh court, the first stage in recovering a debt, and many shopkeepers in this study have been identified here. These bills are often for merchandise bought by those who might be described as the day-to-day customers: writing masters, drawing masters, baxters, tailors, goldsmiths, surgeons, stablers, vintners, soldiers of the City Guard, coachmen, chairmen, army officers, wrights, wigmakers, shoemakers and, of course, their wives and families.

A great deal of buying also went on between the merchants themselves. For example, if a shopkeeper had run out of some commodity required by a customer he or she might buy it from another merchant rather than disappoint the customer.

How busy the shops were it is difficult to say. Family correspondence shows that many customers sent for goods by letter. Sometimes the shopkeeper had to go to the customer's house, even if this was out of town, often accompanied by an apprentice. When a death occurred in a family choosing mournings was an important event. Andrew Edmonston of Edmonston's letter to the Ramsay sisters, milliners in Company, reveals the importance of mourning for the



whole family.

Ladies, I have the misfortune to acquaint you of my mother's death this afternoon. You'll please send someone out tomorrow to my sisters at the house of the late Mr Cochran in Bruntsfield Links in relation to their mournings, which when they have chose you will make one bill to my account.

I am etc.

P.S. What my brother and I want you shall be acquainted with in time.⁸⁹

Since he had four sisters the Ramsays no doubt benefited from the commission.

The complaint by the Misses Pillans, milliners in the High Street, that their profits were down because their customers could not get access to their shop due to alterations being made to the level of the road, suggests that personal shoppers were certainly necessary for the success of a business.⁹⁰ As more ready-made garments became available customers were probably encouraged to visit shops personally rather than sending a commission by post or by a servant.

Certainly, plenty of special sales of goods were advertised in the newspapers, and even lotteries, to tempt many women to go into the shops to see for themselves what was on offer. Sibbie Hutton's advertisement in the Edinburgh Courant, which stated that all garments were priced 'to prevent words and spending of time', suggests that she expected a good number of women looking for a bargain 'below prime cost'.

As the century progressed, however, the shops continued to be improved. Even as early as 1760 the merchants Cockburn and Hope advertised their merchandise in the Courant adding that their warehouse was now extremely well-lighted and fitted-up so that 'the

Opposite: Sibilla Hutton, milliner, and Mr Johnston, merchant, two shopkeepers in the Royal Exchange (John Kay, Original Portraits)

ladies would not take it amiss their not sending abroad goods as formerly'.⁹¹ By the end of the century the building of the New Town had brought shops with more spacious accommodation where, unlike the small shop in the High Street close, customers could at least sit down and wait comfortably for attention.

Conclusion

The Merchant Company minutes and acts of the Town Council reveal the attitude of authority not only to women in the retail trade but also to their freedom to work in the burgh generally. There is nothing in the evidence to suggest that women were harassed simply because they were women. Provision had been made by the Town Council for women to trade either by right of their burgess fathers, or as spouses or widows, with licences for those called gentlewomen and for the poor who retailed in 'small trades'. Even the Merchant Company accepted some women who were not burgesses' daughters, provided they paid their entry money and quarterly dues, and the fact that many male merchants in the Company had female relatives who were shopkeepers suggests that they were not against women in trade as such. These provisions for women in Edinburgh may seem elitist, yet in Oxford at the same period single women appear to have been prohibited from setting up on their own, only spouses and widows being allowed to do so; single women do not appear to have had right by their fathers.⁹² In Edinburgh, however, women appear on the whole to have been accepted as part of the trading community, both by the Town Council and Merchant Company.

The Merchant Company minutes suggest that it was the numbers of women involved in trade in apparel that were seen as a threat to the Company and to free burgesses. The Company's complaint to the Town Council in 1704 about licences underlines this. It asked for an inspection of warrants

'as some young women pretend to have for the keeping of chopes ... that the said Dean of Guild may be very tender and well-advised giving away more such warrants as tending very much to the prejudice of the burgesses and bearers of burdens and the discouragement of trade in many particulars...'.93

Again, as late as 1736, in answer to a complaint by the Merchant Company, the Council singled out the numbers of female shopkeepers whom they described as

'a great many women servants and others who, turning wearie of their services, have, out of a principle of avarice and habit of laziness, taken up little shops, albeit they have no title to the priviledge of trade in this city, which is evidently hurtfull to the trading burgesses, who bear the publick burdens of the place,... therefore they [the committee of the Council] were of the opinion that all persons who possess little shops, who are not the widows or daughters of burgesses, should be strictly prohibited and discharged from keeping any shop or trade within this city after Whitsunday next, under pain of confiscation of their goods, and of otherwise being punished as the laws against unfree traders directs;...'.94

The Town Council's favourable response to petitions for licences probably arose from their preference that women should provide their own subsistence rather than that they should ask for charity. Poverty, especially of widows and those left with young children to provide for, was a continual problem. This preference for giving licences rather than financial assistance may help to explain why so many women who turn up unfree of the Merchant Company had been in trade for a number of years.

It is doubtful, however, whether these women (those receiving licences), unfree though they were, would be from very poor families such as those whom the 1736 act expected to serve the burgesses. The 'young lasses' who set up in the Exchange,⁹⁵ for example, may have been poor financially but their social background gave them assets not available to the 'poor' woman who sat opposite the New Kirk door selling 'old stockings and other small things which cannot hurt the cramers'.⁹⁶ Their social background, for instance, could be extremely important when it came to obtaining credit to buy merchandise.

The concern of the Merchant Company about the increasing numbers of women in the retail trade (that is, of those selling apparel) does suggest that women in particular saw shopkeeping as a work-option where they could operate individually; if single to maintain themselves, as wives to add to the family income, or as widows to support themselves and their families. Women, therefore, took every opportunity to make use of their burgess rights, to exploit their family connections to obtain credit, and to make themselves familiar with all aspects of the retail trade.

Because of a basic need for subsistence women, if working independently, were prepared to take the risks attached to what was in the eighteenth century a credit economy. In doing so the women became just as involved as their male counterparts in the day to day organisation of a retail business, even if that business was small scale. There certainly seems to be little evidence to suggest that shopkeeping was in any significant sense an inferior employment, or that women so employed were using, as has recently been suggested,

'the margins of society' to create their own lives.⁹⁷

A significant fact that weighs against such a generalization would be that many women, in this case in the retail trade, far from being on the margins of society were the relatives of those men who were either making the rules and demanding that they be kept, or were substantial burgh merchants with their own establishments. Thomas Young, as already noted, set up his daughters in the Luckenbooths even when, as is feasible to assume, his own business would have been sufficient to support his daughters without their having to earn their own living. The fact is that the activities of these women far from being peripheral were built into the very fabric of burgh life.

NOTES

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12. Ibid., 208.
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15. Records of the Merchant Company of Edinburgh: Minute Book, 1696-1704. (Hereafter, Merchant Company records).
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17. Ibid., Minute Book, 1704-14.
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19. Ibid., Minute Book, 1704-14.

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21. Ibid.
22. Ibid.; Town Council Minutes, 11 January 1682.
23. Ibid.; Merchant Company records: Minute Book, 1704-14; 1715-24.
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GD 45/18/1010.
25. Will be discussed in Chapter of Thesis on 'Single Women and
Independence'.
26. Merchant Company records, Minute Book, 1704-14.
27. Marwick, Edinburgh Guilds, 204.
28. Ibid., 193.
29. Merchant Company records, Minute Book, 1704-14.
30. Ibid.
31. Ibid.
32. Ibid.
33. Edinburgh Commissariat records (Scottish Record Office): CC8/4/536
(1778).
34. Marwick, Edinburgh Guilds, 201.
35. Edinburgh City Archives: petitions to the magistrates, 1685-1708.
36. Merchant Company records: Minute Book, 1681-96.
37. H. Cockburn, Memorials of His Time (1945 edition), 77-8.
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J. Brewer and J.H. Plumb, The Birth of a Consumer Society (1982), 85.
39. There appears to be no trace of this plan.
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44. See, engraving between pages 25 and 26.
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46. Daybook of A. Deas, house-painter, 1774-78: (SRO) GD 1/548/1.
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63. (Dunbar), Court of Session records: CS 96/3562 (1815-18); CS 42/17 August 1818; (McLeod) CS 96/3824-5; CS 228/M.10/21.
64. Edinburgh Commissary records: CC8/4/477 (1751).
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66. Magdalene Dunbar, Sederunt Book: CS 96/3562.

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74. Blackwood's Letter Book, 25 February 1710, 16 March 1710.
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82. Ibid.
83. (Anderson), W. Ferguson, Scotland, 1689 to the Present (1968), 98; (Grieve), Edinburgh Commissary records: CC8/4/577 (1764).
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85. Ibid., CC8/4/531 (1775).
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87. Edinburgh Courant, 8 January 1780; Daybook of A. Deas, GD 1/548/1.
88. Caledonian Mercury, 10 July 1752.
89. Edinburgh Commissary records, CC8/4/509 (1760).

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CHAPTER TWO

ROOMSETTERS, NURSES AND GRAVECLOTHES-MAKERS:
COMMUNITY CARE IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY EDINBURGHIntroduction

These three occupations have been taken together because they relate to the most crucial aspects of life: shelter, illhealth and death. Women have always been concerned in these services, especially in caring for the sick and dying. The services discussed here, however, were carried out by women for the purpose of earning a living and in the context of this chapter were always paid for.

Since the present study is concerned with finding out what women's work actually entailed and how it affected their lives it is proposed both to examine what was actually involved in following these occupations and to discuss the significance of this in relation to the women themselves. The records from which the following information is derived are mainly legal papers such as commissary court processes, burgh court processes and testaments. Information may also be gleaned from bills and correspondence in family papers.

ROOMSETTING

In the capital there was no shortage of people looking for lodgings, either for long or short stay. Even the inhabitants who lived in rented accommodation all their lives flitted from one lodging to another. When a complaint was made about a newly-rented lodging that it was 'swarming with buggs', it was alleged that the reason for this was that the inhabitants of the burgh were continually on the move.

For women, roomsetting as a means of livelihood had an advantage over shopkeeping in that it was free of burgh regulations, such as burgess rights. Although not a lucrative means of support renting rooms was at least seen to be a respectable way of surviving economically without too much outlay. Although there were male roomsetters, many were women, especially widows. Certainly, roomsetting was seen to be a business; when Anne Blackie (Mrs Campbell), a bookbinder's widow, took the writer James Watson to court for arrears of rent it was stated on her behalf that she ought to be paid, especially as it was 'a business she carried on for her alimentary use'. It was also stated on her behalf that 'if the trifling defences (that had been put forward for the defendant) were to be sustained many poor women in the absence or upon the death of her husband who lives by setting rooms would starve'.¹

For a widow who was left with only the liferent of a lodging roomsetting might be the only means of supporting herself and her family, especially if she had a young family to rear and educate. There are instances of the courts' upholding a plea not to sell furniture for the use of creditors, as without the furniture the widow could not sustain herself. Even if a few items of furniture had to be bought these could be purchased second-hand at a roud and did not require the credit necessary to stock even a small shop. Women who did not have a liferent of a lodging rented one and sublet it to lodgers.

Of course large numbers of the inhabitants of Edinburgh lived in rented accommodation; even the aristocracy and gentry did not always own their lodgings. But in the case of lodging with a

roomsetter additional services were offered such as washing clothes, provision of coal, candle, baths and other necessities. In some cases even items such as shirts, cravats and stocks might be made, and advertisements in the newspapers state that meals would be provided if required. Mrs Thomson, a roomsetter in Anchor Close, informed the public that she continued her former business

'... likewise keeps furnished lodgings or rooms to let. Any lodgers who have a mind may have their breakfasts, dinner and supper at home, any family not inclining to bring their own plate and china Mrs Thomson can serve them as also with all kinds of rum and porter'.²

Mrs Yorston, a shopkeeper who also set rooms, informed the public that those who lodged with her, could have the use of a garden for walking or for drying clothes.³

Since roomsetting was seen as a respectable business women of many social backgrounds are found engaged in it. The wives and widows of ministers, merchants, wrights, fleshers, baxters, writing masters and goldsmiths can all be found using this means, either to support themselves if widows or, if wives, to add to the family income.

Lodgings were often taken by single professional men from outside Edinburgh who were working in the capital. Such men, writers and schoolmasters for example, may have had relatively few possessions to carry around with them other than those necessary for their work. Robert Donald, a writer living by himself, had taken two rooms from Janet Robertson a roomsetter in Blackfriars' Wynd. He took with him his desk and a trunk for his clothes and books.⁴ John Cammert, Master of the Riding Academy, rented only one room from

Margaret Blaikie who also provided him with his meals.⁵ Most of these men, however, probably ate out with their friends and acquaintances in taverns and coffee houses and therefore having their linen washed was probably the most important service they required; men appear to have gone through vast numbers of shirts, cravats and stockings.

There were other single men who required lodgings. Although most apprentices lived in there were unmarried journeymen who, having no relatives living in the vicinity of their workplace, had to find lodging. Even some shopkeepers can be found in furnished lodgings if their shops and houses were not attached. Single women, too, such as the daughters of professional men, women shopkeepers and mantuamakers all sought rooms in the capital. Some women may have used their room to work in. For example, Mrs Meggat, who kept a tavern had several girls who span for her and it appears that the girls did this in their rooms and had their meals at the tavern. It is perhaps not without significance, therefore, that the roomsetter, Anne Hastie, discovered that unknown to her, a girl had been spinning in her attic.⁶

Men who had been abroad in the army, East India Company or were owners of estates and plantations, would need somewhere to live when they arrived home, for having been abroad for a number of years it was possible to lose touch with relatives. When William Glass came home from Jamaica and died in the house of Mrs Cameron, a roomsetter in St Mary's Wynd, it is recorded in the court process that Mr Clephane the wright who provided the funeral necessities had to look in Mr Glass's papers to see who his relatives were.⁷ Increasing

numbers of foreign craftsmen also came to Edinburgh, especially in the second half of the century, either to learn or to practice a craft. Although some stayed only long enough to learn their craft many settled in the city to carry on trade for themselves. Timms Meirs, a native of Prussia, was a seal-wax maker, Giovanni Tarone from Italy was a barometer-maker, Moses Daniel, a spectacle-maker, came from Hanover, John Faeligen, a native of Saxony, came to learn his craft from William Henniker, staymaker. There were also professional men, dancing-masters, fencing-masters, teachers of French and Italian, music-masters, and even a maker of fireworks from Italy. Some of these craftsmen and professionals brought relatives. Women, usually their sisters, taught dancing, singing, playing the harpsichord, drawing and painting. Francis Rossignali brought his mother and sister with him, his sister Theresa was a dancing mistress.⁸ Many of these incomers to the capital had little money; musicians especially are found among those taken to court for failure to pay bills. A rented room or two was probably the only answer to a small income. Even then some had problems; Stephano Puppo, a musician, was sequestered for rent in the 1770s.⁹

The Capital also had seasonal visits from the aristocracy and gentry and their families. Evidence suggests that their sons and daughters were not always boarded in schools but were settled in lodging with a tutor or governess. Isobel Gibson, for instance, charged Lord Bargany for his 'children, pettigog [pedagogue, or tutor] and page' and also for necessities for one of his servants who had been taken ill in her house.¹⁰

With such a cross-section of society in their premises

roomsetters had many and varied tasks to perform. Of all these tasks washing and dressing linens was probably the most important. Washing may have been done on the premises or given out to a washerwoman. Where it was done may have been determined by the number of lodgers and the kind of lodgers present. The clothes made for lodgers, such as shirts and cravats, might have been made by the roomsetter herself or her servants, or given out to seamstresses. One roomsetter who bought fabric, probably for making such clothes for her boarders, was reported to the Merchant Company and had her cloth poulded. When she appeared before the Company, however, the Treasurer recorded in the minutes that 'she has no trade but roomsetting.... and when lodgers needs necessities or [she] gets commissions from the country she buys from town merchants'. She was allowed her cloth back and warned only to buy from merchants in town. It may be concluded that whoever reported her suspected that she had been buying from someone outside Edinburgh and that she had bought a fair quantity. She may well have tried to purchase the cloth more cheaply in order to make more profit on the service. The incident took place in 1707 at a time when the Merchant Company was at its most vigilant in seeking out unfree traders.¹¹

Roomsetters had to cope with the problems that arose when lodgers became ill and sometimes it was necessary to call in the services of a sick-nurse. On occasion the roomsetter would herself sit up or ask a servant to do so. These services had always to be paid for, although creditors are often found complaining about such expenses. Roomsetters appear to have accepted lodgers even if they were ill when they came to live with them and were prepared to

provide 'extraordinary' attendance. When Mrs Wilson decided to give up living by herself her neighbour Elizabeth Beath recommended a roomsetter Elizabeth Todd. The decision may have been taken by Mrs Wilson because of her state of health because not long after she went to live with Elizabeth Todd she became very ill and weak and eventually died. According to the deposition of a witness, Mrs Wilson got 'great attention plus fire, breakfasts, supper and the provision of a sick-nurse' and 'the deponent thinks the articles in the account very reasonable considering the trouble and uncommon fatigue attending her'.¹²

When another roomsetter, Primrose Cameron, took in George Glass when he arrived back in Edinburgh from Jamaica he had had asthma and other complaints, according to her statement, and was confined to bed. When he subsequently died in her house she sent for the writer Andrew Bisset to seal up his effects and asked Bisset to contact those who should attend the funeral. She also contacted Mr Clephane the wright and asked him to make the funeral arrangements. Attendance and necessities supplied during an illness which resulted in death appear to have been counted among the 'preferable debts'.¹³ Perhaps roomsetters were prepared to take in the sick believing that they had a fair chance of getting their bills paid; all funeral bills were considered 'preferable debts' and the roomsetters may have had an eye to business. Jean Taylor, a roomsetter, was also a graveclothes-maker and the wife of a wright. Such women were, after all, out to make a living and it is not unusual to find the wives of wrights and surgeons making graveclothes.

It would appear that there were no standard charges for

lodgings. Perhaps the roomsetter charged according to the quality of the lodger as well as the state of the lodgings. The rent is often said to have been 'agreed' between roomsetter and lodger. When asked to comment on the prices charged one witness, Elizabeth Cattanach, roomsetter, asserted that,

'she was of the opinion that the articles charged for breakfasts and coals are reasonable and is likewise of the opinion that the prices charged for washing is too moderate the deponent setts rooms and is in use to wash and dress gentlemens linens and has received such prices and greater for these articles...'.¹⁴

Prices certainly varied. Margaret Blaikie charged John Cammert room rent at 6s a week (1781), Janet Manners said that 7s a week charged by Joanna Inglis was moderate (1757), Mrs Stewart charged 2s 6d a week for a room (1760). However, little can be gleaned about the scale of rent from such bills. A roomsetter, Mrs McPherson, charged the Earl of Dalhousie 18s a week but the number of rooms rented is not noted (1767).¹⁵ All these charges are in sterling. Prices probably depended on such factors as the condition or situation of the rooms and the number of lodgers involved. It is impossible therefore to gauge an average rent. The condition of the rooms was important to the lodger and some roomsetters assured their potential customers of the good condition of their lodgings by advertising in the newspapers. Mrs Yorston, for example, stated with confidence that her rooms were 'free of bugs'. The latter, however, were a constant threat. When Colin Campbell complained that the rooms he had rented were infested he was told that he was expected 'to take his hazzard of the creatures'.¹⁶

Financially, roomsetting was not without its problems. The

roomsetter could lose money by lodgers either removing themselves or not keeping the terms of the contract. Janet Robertson complained that she was unable to re-set her rooms because her lodger Robert Donald had left his belongings in her room after he had taken ill and gone to stay with a friend. She therefore asked if she might rouse his desk, trunk and books to pay for the rent he owed her, and her request was granted. When the Earl of Dalhousie died in the house of Mrs McPherson she charged for 'the loss by his lordship having taken the house for 6 months'; he died after having been in the lodging for only five weeks. There was also the matter of the wear and tear on lodgings especially if these were let furnished. Margaret Anderson charged Mary Gardner for '6 glass lozans [lattice panes] broke by the children' and '2 knives and forks lost by the servant'. Mrs Crawford charged Lord Bellenden 'to what it will cost for a new leaf or side to a mahogany table you burnt', and when Michael Bruce died Janet Inglis charged for 'washing the bed and blankets and funeral linens' and for 'spoiling of a bed and mattress'.¹⁷

Although on occasion roomsetters were paid their bills on the death of a lodger under the law of preferable debts, rent arrears might go on year after year. Janet Pitullo, the widow of an Edinburgh merchant, kept Walter Simpson of the Island of St Christopher for five years eight months without payment of any kind; he eventually owed her a total of £226 13s 4d.¹⁸ Roomsetters, therefore, are found taking lodgers to court. Anne Blackie did not take the writer James Watson to court but she locked up his room and 'violently kept him from his property'. Because of this he was

unable to execute his business as a writer. In these extreme circumstances Watson was forced to appeal to the sheriff, complaining that,

'... she thought proper to lock up my room and refuse me access either to my books, effects and papers and gave in an extravagant bill against me. By this behaviour of hers I am put under the greatest hardship upon accounts of diligence having gone out against me, for inhibiting several papers in my hands belonging to persons for whom I actuate in the way of business and as I am willing to find caution... for what shall be found justly due to her by me in the event of a process I am under the necessity of applying to your lordship for remeid...'.
'

The sheriff ordered that Watson's goods be delivered up upon his finding caution, but held him liable for the debt.

Roomsetters could in fact face a good deal of outlay on behalf of their lodgers before recovering any of it at all, especially on food, drink and washing. John Cammert, Master of the Riding Academy, who lodged with Margaret Blaikie, died at Leith races. Margaret Blaikie had some trouble in getting the executor, who was also a creditor, to allow her account in full. The executor in question, John Pohl, a tailor, objected to her having hired a sick-nurse for Cammert after the accident which caused his death. In the answers for Margaret Blaikie, however, it was asserted that,

'the pursuer is a poor widow woman unable to sustain the loss and trouble and attendance which she gave on the occasion lybelled... the charge being for attending his corpse from the time it was brought to the pursuer's house which was on the Monday after his death where it remained till Wednesday evening when it was interred, and for attendance during that period, being 3 days and 2 nights beside candles and the inconveniency to her house, the pursuer has only charged one guinea which the pursuer apprehended she is entitled to the more especially when your lordships are informed there is plenty free fund to pay...'.
'

Besides 13 weeks' room rent at 6s a week Cammert owed her the cost of

food and washing. In the end she was allowed payment of her bill.²⁰

From volumes of the Register of Sales in the archives of the City of Edinburgh it is clear that roomsetters asked that debtors be sequestrated to clear their bills; inventories of lodgers' goods are given. However, these volumes also reveal that the roomsetters were themselves sequestrated by those from whom they rented the rooms which they afterwards sublet. The women rented these houses from all kinds of people and the houses are to be found in all parts of the burgh. Mrs Douglas, in the Mealmarket Stairs, was sequestrated at the instance of John Watt, broker, Mrs MacLean at the instance of Patrick Leslie, musician, Mrs Miller, in Strichen's Close, at the instance of Neil Stewart, music-seller, Mrs Morrison in Govinloch's Land at the instance of Charles Stewart, writer, for rent amounting to £25, Jean Cruikshanks in North Bridge owed £20 rent, Mrs Dickie owed James Wilson, change-keeper, the rent of a house in Forrester's Wynd, her furniture realising £3 3s 10d at the roup, of which most went in the clerk's and court's expenses. Mrs Hay owed £10 rent for a house in Canal Street, Jean Sheils owed her rent to Elizabeth Thomson, a merchant's daughter, for a house at the head of the Cowgate and Mrs Stenton owed £6 rent to a coachmaker for a house also in the Cowgate. Although those sequestrations are all recorded in the 1780s and 1790s it is not possible to draw any significance from the fact as the Roup Books only begin in the 1780s.²¹ On the whole, roomsetting was probably an occupation which, although not bringing in a great deal of money, at least helped many women, especially widows, to survive.

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SICK-NURSES

Sick-nursing as an occupation reflects the fact that in the eighteenth century for the majority of people time meant money and loss of time meant loss of money. Most people had a task to perform which did not always allow time to look after those who because of illhealth were unable to help themselves. Even house servants had little time to look after those confined to bed or in need of constant care and attention. When Onslow Anderson who boarded with John Stratton brewer became ill, his servant, Nicola Devine, had to attend to her in the capacity of a sick-nurse. John Stratton claimed expenses for having had to hire another servant in Nicola's place. In her deposition Nicola stated that she had had to sit up 12 nights 'during which time she the deponent never got her clothes thrown off'. Most of the sick-nurses, or those described as 'employed attending sick persons' discussed here are to be found in commissary court processes where they turn up in the bills relating to funeral expenses. Since, as has already been noted, executors or creditors often complained about the high costs and what they saw as unnecessary expense, a 'proof' was allowed and witnesses called.

The employment of sick-nursing, like that of roomsetting, was regarded as a business. Louisa Cleghorn, a sick-nurse, stated that she

'waited on the defunct 7 nights before his death and one night after he was a corpse and that it is the deponent's business to wait upon such sick people...'.²²

Sick-nurses were often called upon to 'live in' if the person needed constant attention and this could last for some time: from a few days to several weeks, even months. Agnes Nickson sat up 14 nights,

1747 M^{rs} Youll Dⁿ To Susan Moor I m
 July 7 To 20 Nights Sitting By her a C^d = " 14
 To the Use of a Bed pan 20 Nights a 1 p^r = " 1
 Pay the above Acc^t to Arch^d Campbell & F = " 15
 Brewer in C^d for the behoof of her
 Susan & J^r Moor
 To the Representatives of }
 the Deceased M^{rs} Youll Stabler }
 in C^d - - - - - Mark

Susannah Moore sat up 28 nights, Mrs Goodwilly attended night and day for 41 days, Helen Cairns for 5 weeks and Janet Paton 11 weeks. On occasion women required a sick-nurse during their lying-in. For example, one of the items rendered to writer Roderick McLeod for his daughter was 'to the nursekeeper that attended her during her inlying for 24 days and nights, £1.4.0'. Some of these women brought furniture and other necessities with them. Jean Strachan stated that the patient whom she was attending as a sick-nurse had desired her to bring furniture with her, which presumably included a bed, and she paid the carter for bringing it in from Corstorphine. Most households probably had only essential furniture and an extra person in the house might be a problem. Isabella Doorward who cared for the wife of Robert Norrie the painter slept in a 'shakedown bed' beside the patient as Mrs Norrie was 'unable to turn herself in bed without her assistance'; the nurse was with her for 8 months and 15 days. On occasion there are instances of sick-nurses providing other necessities: Susannah Moore, for example, besides charging for attendance also charged for the use of a bed-pan, '20 nights at a penny a night'.²³

These nurses, of course, were engaged to look after patients who could afford to pay. They were not attending the really poor. Payment itself varied, probably according to the status of the patient, for there appears to be no standard charge, the payment being 'agreed' between the parties concerned. Mrs Goodwilly had 'agreed with his lady (wife of Aneas Oliphant of Balgonie) for 6d a day, albeit she uses to get 12 pence from some of the like quality'.²⁴

Opposite: Receipt by Susan Moor, for payment for 28 nights' attendance as a sick-nurse, 7 July 1747 (CC8/4/469)

Most of the women involved in sick-nursing came from fairly poor backgrounds, being the wives or widows of weavers, shoemakers, servants and heel-makers. A remark made by the Earl of Crawford and his son in the capacity of executors may reflect the perceived place of the sick-nurse in society in the minds of the upper classes. The Earl and his son disputed the price of the graveclothes made by Jean Ure (a goldsmith's widow) for her own son, and dismissed the evidence of the two sick-nurses brought in to testify to the quality of these with the remark that these 'low women' could not possibly assess the quality of the graveclothes.²⁵

There were other opportunities in the city for women to earn a little by tending the sick. There were the hospitals who paid for sick-nursing. In the records of Trinity Hospital, for example, the clerk noted, 'to the women who watches on the sick 18s'. As this seems to be a large amount of money in 1713, it may suggest that some women did sick-nursing for the Hospital on a regular basis. The Royal Infirmary appears to have engaged two kinds of nurses: the ordinary, who acted as day and night nurses, and the supernumerary, who were hired for individual patients who required special attention. Physicians would sometimes recommend a night nurse for someone who was restless or delirious. All nurses were hired by the matron who also dismissed them when she thought it necessary. Wages were low, with night nurses receiving higher payments: in 1768 when it was decided to make an increase of £3 a year, night nurses received £6.

Nurses had a good deal of responsibility in the Infirmary, making sure that the wards were cleaned out by 9 o'clock in the

morning, maintaining proper ventilation, attending to the bedclothes and making sure that those that were soiled were removed and washed. They were also expected to oversee the patients' food and medication and make sure that drugs were labelled and updated at the apothecary shop. These duties, of course, although laid down by the Infirmary Managers, were not, needless to say, always carried out and it is not surprising that finding sufficient numbers of nurses became a problem, since the nature of the work, long hours and tiring conditions were only likely to attract women desperately needing money.

These nurses Risse suggests were women 'domestics' who probably could not find employment elsewhere and took on nursing as a last resort. This may well be true but evidence suggests that women were never attracted to domestic service for subsistence unless hard-pressed and that they preferred to be independent if at all possible. Half of the Royal Infirmary nurses appear to have left after a year or less.²⁶

The sick-nurses first discussed were different from the Infirmary nurses in that many of them had been nursing over long periods, and therefore had a certain amount of experience of sick people. Also, being on a one-to-one basis with the patient their job would be less harrassing. There would be no rules and regulations and few of the practical responsibilities that harrassed the hospital nurses, while the environment of the home would, by comparison, be less daunting than the 'horrid assassinations of death' and other terrors experienced in the Infirmary.

WET-NURSES

It is difficult to obtain information regarding wet-nurses and midwives operating in the eighteenth century, and it is impossible from the evidence that is available to assess the numbers of women involved in these employments. However, since such women had an important role in the life of the community it is necessary to include them in any study of women and work.

A wet-nurse either lived in the house of the child to be nursed or took the child into her own home. Some women may also have gone to houses to nurse children on a daily basis. In some cases the wet-nurse took her own child with her when living in, but not always: there were others like Margaret Adamson who put her own child to nurse so that she could live in and nurse the child of Sir Alexander Hay of Mordington.²⁷

Although wet-nursing cannot be called a work-option as can roomsetting and graveclothes-making, nevertheless many women probably carried on bearing children into their forties, and it is possible, therefore, that for some women wet-nursing could be a fairly regular employment. When it is remembered that at this period infant mortality was high there must have been many women, whose children had died, who were prepared to wet-nurse another. That women saw wet-nursing as a possible way of earning money, is reflected in their determination to get as good a bargain as possible. As with other employments it is always stated in claims, that the parties had 'agreed' to the bargain. Margaret Adamson, already mentioned, had bargained with Mrs Hay for 40s per quarter, plus a gown at the weaning of the child and drink-money. As it turned out she was

dismissed because it was alleged that the child was not thriving on her milk and that she had been responsible for the child's broken arm; the family therefore hired another nurse. Determined to get her part of the bargain Margaret took the Hays to court. Unfortunately for the wet-nurse, however, Dr Hope and Mrs Johnston the midwife who were called in as witnesses, asserted that her milk was unsuitable and that the child was not thriving. She therefore lost her case. As to the gown, the Hays alleged that 'when she came into the family she was very ill provided for in clothes and, therefore, that she might appear decent Mrs Hay gave her a new gown'. She may have been allowed to keep the gown since she had worn it.

Working women may also have used the services of a wet-nurse; women with shops and women helping in their husbands' businesses or trades probably put their children to a wet-nurse. The fact that women were active in their shops both before and after marriage, even when they are known to have had children, suggests that they did not nurse the children themselves and some may have employed a day-nurse after the children were weaned. Agnes Broadfoot, for example, the widow of John Paton, a writer, had a son born posthumously. Agnes had a shop on the Laigh Exchange before she was married and continued to work after her husband's death. It is possible that she employed a wet-nurse so that she could continue her shopkeeping activities. In fact, many women who helped in their husbands' merchant businesses had been in shopkeeping for themselves before marriage. Rebecca Megget, the second wife of Daniel Seton, had been his journeywoman before they married. Daniel's first wife, Jean Ramsay, had been a milliner before her marriage and continued to help in the merchant

business after marriage. Shopkeepers Carola Young, Violet and Barbara Sheills and Margaret Chiesley among many others, worked both before and after marriage and since they all had families it is extremely likely that their children were wet-nursed.

In France working women often sent their children to be wet-nursed so that they could continue to work; this was common in such trades as the silk-weaving of Lyons. The practice did in fact carry on until the nineteenth century. As late as the 1860s a writer claimed:

'Shopkeepers' wives have in general as much importance in their businesses as their husbands, they cannot nurse for themselves... so have to resort to the wet-nursing bureaux'.²⁸

Although many shops were attached to houses in Edinburgh some women did have shops in other areas of the town. Agnes Broadfoot already mentioned, would require to go to the Exchange every day as the shops there were only small presses with no possibility of living quarters. These shops in the High and Low Exchanges were rented by many married women. The average merchant or tradesman would be able to afford a wet-nurse and would be concerned to have his wife's continued help in the business if at all possible.

Wet-nurses were used not only by the better-off, however. In cases of illegitimacy, where a mother required to keep on working, she was sometimes forced to have her child put out to nurse. Since the service had to be as cheap as possible the conditions for the infant might be far from satisfactory. A married woman on the bread-line who had to continue her job might also find herself in a similar situation. In some cases where the existence of an

illegitimate child had to be concealed from a wife a wet-nurse was used, as in the case brought against Peter Bamborough. Bamborough, a vintner, was sent for on account of Anne West's having been delivered of his illegitimate child and when told that Anne was in such poverty that she could not possibly support the infant he asserted that the knowledge of the child would 'ruin the peace of his family'. He was therefore advised to put the child to a wet-nurse. Although in such circumstances the wet-nurse might have difficulty getting payment the situation could also be a way of exacting continuous payment for some time and could become a matter of blackmail. In this particular case the husband of the wet-nurse, James Begg, 'was in use of hanging about Mr Bamborough's door and dunning him for money'. Eventually the midwife who had been involved in the case wrote to Bamborough pointing out that a mother could demand payment for ten years and that he ought to take some action.²⁹

As to whether unmarried mothers in Scotland who sent their child out to be nursed could take on wet-nursing themselves for subsistence is a matter for speculation. Valerie Fields shows that by the nineteenth century this was quite common in some parts of England and that more and more mothers relied on such 'fallen' young women rather than on married women. Although many of these unmarried mothers lost their children at birth those whose children survived and were seen to be thriving were employed by better-off parents. In England by the nineteenth century this situation was partly responsible for the growth of the notorious baby-farming. Poor women, desperate to wet-nurse as a means of livelihood, were

forced to give their own infants into the care of another whose livelihood was also at stake but who was quite indifferent to the infants in her care. This kind of wet-nursing did continue well into the nineteenth century in England and in 1868 a surgeon in a Manchester lying-in hospital wrote:

'With all the cases with which he had come in contact he could hardly recall one in which a married woman had been employed as a wet-nurse. Wet-nurses were for the most part young women who had had an illegitimate child. They knew that by applying to an institution in Manchester situations at a high rate of wages would readily be found for them; their own babies were farmed - that was put out to nurse - and their lives in the majority of cases sacrificed'.³⁰

It seems unlikely that in Scotland unmarried mothers would be used extensively for wet-nursing in this institutionalised way, given the attitude of the kirk sessions to illegitimacy. However, it is possible that through personal contact unmarried women did perform this service.

The kirk sessions, however, did use married women as wet-nurses for infants who had been abandoned or 'exposed'. The account book of St Cuthbert's kirk session, Edinburgh, for the 1780s notes regular payments to numbers of women who are said to be either 'keeping' the foundlings or nursing them. Ten shillings was paid for six weeks or a 'half quarter'. Some women were paid smaller amounts for looking after a foundling until a nurse was found or the mother was 'discovered'. Soldiers, caddies and even boys, were paid for locating the mothers of foundlings. Most of the women who were 'keeping' or nursing appear to have been engaged on a long-term basis over a number of years so that they reared the child until he or she was old enough to be apprenticed or go into service, usually at 10 or

11 years old: Rena West was paid over a number of years for 'keeping' Rosina Mein, a foundling belonging to the parish: 3s is recorded for a pair of shoes for Rosina as 'she had now gone to service'. Susannah Sinclair was paid 10s for 'keeping the child found at Mrs Rogers door in the West Port... his name is Roger Lawson'. Another woman was paid for 'nursing a child belonging to a family in Cross Causeway who were all in distress and were put into the Infirmary'. Agnes Lawson was paid 2s 'for keeping a foundling child for some days before a nurse was got' and Katherine Reid was paid 10s 'for nursing the child found in Bristo Street'.³¹ It can only be assumed from these entries that all of the women were wet-nursing those children, even although some of them offered to do it only temporarily, otherwise the children would hardly have survived until the mother or a wet-nurse was found. Women who were prepared to give this service were probably known to the kirk session.

A wet-nurses's own child might be sacrificed to another, for she might be unable to suckle both and in some cases her own child might be prematurely weaned, resulting in its death. The tragedy of such mothers and their infants is underlined by a note in the diary of a wealthy Hertfordshire employer concerning his family's wet-nurse:

'Mrs Webb's sister came up and informed us of the death of Mrs Webb's infant which occurred about a week ago. It is a very melancholy reflection that our own infant should have been sustained as it were at the expense of the life of another infant'.³²

Wet-nurses might also be called upon to give milk to those who were ill as this was thought to be extremely beneficial. Jean Laughlan who had witnessed a wet-nurse perform this service stated

that she had 'known sick persons pay 5s sterling for a woman's milk'.³³ In another instance a milliner, Betty Hume, when she became ill agreed to give a wet-nurse 'half a guinea for pap milk'. How long this practice continued it is difficult to say; Rosalind Marshall suggests early 18th century, but Betty Hume was receiving this service as late as the 1760s.³⁴

It is possible, therefore, that since wet-nurses were in demand for various reasons quite substantial numbers of women derived some subsistence not only from wet-nursing but from 'dry-nursing' children who had been weaned.

MIDWIVES

As has been noted, no 18th century register of midwives has survived and it is impossible to assess how many women earned their living by this employment. It is also difficult to find evidence relating to their actual activities, but such evidence as has come to light does show to some extent the nature of their involvement in the life of the community. Before looking at the midwives, however, it is necessary to take a brief look at midwifery itself, as it developed in the 18th and early 19th centuries at Edinburgh University, for this does have some bearing on the education of the professional midwife in that period.

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The Minutes of Edinburgh town council record an Act of the council of 1694 which stated that all women practising as midwives must hold a licence and be recorded. Whereas this Act was mainly

concerned with the licensing of midwives, the council's appointment of Leith surgeon, Joseph Gibson, in 1726 was concerned with their instruction. The magistrates and town council appointed Gibson professor of midwifery for the city, specifically to teach and instruct midwives but they made it clear that he would receive no emolument for this duty. Gibson was followed by another surgeon, Robert Smith, but his appointment was as 'Professor of Midwifery at the cities College'.

The intention of the town council was that every woman wishing to practise as a professional midwife would be given a 'tryal'. It was recommended that two members of the College of Physicians together with the Professor of Midwifery and two other members of the Surgeons' Incorporation should attend this trial; three of these five would be a quorum. If the quorum was satisfied that the midwife was competent a certificate would be issued and the midwife would then obtain her licence to practice. A record of such midwives was to be kept in the council chambers.³⁵ In 1756 Smith was followed by Dr Thomas Young. Young, who was a member of the Surgeons' Incorporation, obtained a medical degree and became a member of the Royal College of Physicians in 1761. He was the first Professor of Midwifery to give systematic lectures to medical students, and in order to give his students practical experience he requested a lying-in ward in the Royal Infirmary. A ward was set aside for this purpose but eventually the managers of the Infirmary regarded it as an inconvenience and after a disagreement with Professor Alexander Hamilton, the then Professor of Midwifery, the ward was finally closed in 1793. Hamilton, however, suggested a Lying-in Hospital

for the wives of 'poor labouring people', the money to be raised by subscription. This eventually materialised and Professor Hamilton's students were able to have access to patients there.³⁶

By the 1750s other Scottish towns were providing instruction in Midwifery to women who wished to become professional midwives. In 1758 Dr David Skene had begun a course in Aberdeen. In 1759 a surgeon, Thomas Muir, delivered a course of lectures to midwives in Glasgow where Professor Thomas Hamilton was by this time Professor of Midwifery at the University.³⁷ Even so, in spite of the teaching of courses in midwifery at Edinburgh University it was not until 1830, more than 100 years after the setting up of the medical faculty there, that midwifery was made a compulsory subject for graduation by medical students, although students could choose to study it before then. This situation meant that the Professors of Midwifery were not treated as full members of the medical faculty, were unable to take part in academic decisions, examine for degrees or share in the graduation fees. Even in 1825 when new regulations were instituted, midwifery was still not required for graduation. The Professor of Midwifery at that time, James Hamilton, sent a memorial to the town council in which he alleged that even if the medical students studied anatomy, etc. as compulsory subjects, the lectures in these subjects did not impart the knowledge given by himself as a Professor of Midwifery. Hamilton claimed that he alone taught the diseases of women and infants and that this was absolutely essential to midwifery education. For example, he underlined the high death-rate in infants from convulsions. According to him, he and his father, Alexander Hamilton, were the only Professors of Midwifery to have

taught the diseases of women and infants. He asserted that neither Professor Gibson nor Smith had lectured to students and that even Thomas Young had concentrated on practical midwifery and not on the diseases affecting mothers and children.³⁸

Hamilton also complained that he was not included in decision-making within the University and that on one occasion, unknown to himself, the students had been given their holidays earlier than usual, which was a great inconvenience to him since it broke into his own course of lectures to the medical students.³⁹ The town council did in fact agree with him with regard to his demand that midwifery be made compulsory for all the medical students. Unfortunately, the Senatus Academicus, although they complied, ruled that only those medical students now entering the College (that is from autumn 1825) should be compelled to study the subject. The response from the patrons, that is the magistrates and town council, was to call a meeting of the principal Professors at which they put forward their rights to make decisions in the College. The end result was a confrontation between the patrons and the College regarding the rights of each party (i.e. the College and the Patrons), the Patrons taking the University to court, and although the Commissioners who were called in to inspect the University refused to become involved in the dispute while the case was pending, they did rule that midwifery should be made compulsory for all medical students.⁴⁰

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In 18th century Scotland there was a growing concern about the standards of midwifery. In Edinburgh itself as the century

progressed and the teaching of midwifery to medical students increased in importance it is perhaps not surprising that town council, medical profession and the public at large should show a keen interest in the education of those most involved, the midwives themselves. In an Act passed by Edinburgh town council in 1694, however, the main emphasis was on the reporting of illegitimate births rather than on educating the midwife:

'The counsell taking to ther serious consideration that many women take upon them the office of midwifs who ar nowayes qualified for that Imployment and that others take up that profession unduly and for sinisterous ends and doe countinace and conceall unlawfull births Which ought not to be tollerat under good government for remeid whereof the Counsell appoynts the magistrats to call befor them the whole medwyfes within this City suburbs and priviledges thereof that they may be examined and tryed by whom the magistrats shall thinke fitt...'

The rules that follow were obviously aimed at making sure that no illegitimate births were concealed:

'(1) That I shall at all tymes serve willingly the poor as midwife when requyred (2) That I shall not administrat drugs inwardly to women with chyld without advyce of ane phisitian (3) That I shall give accompt to the ministers or present elders of the bounds of all unlawfull births comes to my knowledge ... And that within four houres thereafter And if it shall happen that the mothers varie anent the chylds father or that I have any suspition theranent then I shall call for the saids ministers or elders in tyme of labour I shall never conceall nor concur in conceilling any birth father or mother therof (4) I shall readily meet with other midwyfes at the magistrats order anent foundlings concealed or undiscovered birthes or what like may occurre in this City.... I shall give personall attendance therto in the way of my Imployment (5) That I shall discover to the magistrats all persons within this City... who at present or hereafter to my knowledge doe take upon them the office of ane midwife that hath not subscribed the ruells and are not approven by us or the magistrats shall appoynt...'.⁴¹

Since no evidence of any kind has so far come to light concerning the numbers of women who were actually licensed at this period it is impossible to tell how far the magistrates were able to achieve their intention. By 1726, however, on receiving Joseph Gibson's petition that he be appointed to instruct midwives, the council minutes indicate that the magistrates now placed emphasis on the need for instruction for midwives.

'...having...considered that many fatal consequences have happened to women in childbirth and to the Childeren thro' the Ignorance and unskillfullness of midwives in this Countrey and City who enter upon that Difficult Sphere at their own hand without the least triall taken of their knowledge of the principles upon which they are to practice that art, and that it would be good Service done to the Community to put a stop to such a practise in order to prevent such Mischieffs in time comeing, They were of opinion that it should be Enacted by the Councill that no person for hereafter shou'd presume to Enter on the practice of midwifery within this city and priviledge till once they present to the Magistrates a Certificate under the hands of at least one Doctor and one Chirurgion who are at the time members of the College of Physicians or Incorporation of Chirurgions of this City Bearing that they have so much of the knowledge of the Grounds and principles of this art as warrants their entring upon the practice of it'.⁴²

It is not clear why Joseph Gibson asked to have this charge of instructing midwives. He had only been a member of the Surgeons' Incorporation for 4 years but he had their backing when he made his request to the town council. The fact that the council did not pay him for this service suggests that he had some ulterior motive than payment. It may have arisen from his own observation of the low standards of midwifery as he came into contact with midwives in his own profession, or it may have been the result of a desire on the part of the Surgeons to monitor the number of midwives who practised.

The Surgeons certainly appear to have continually underlined

their own right, as they saw it, to a prime interest in the practice of midwifery and, although they did not object to the council's ruling in 1720 that two physicians as well as three surgeons should take trial of the midwives, they were so concerned about their rights and privileges that in 1769 the Incorporation consulted counsel about the privileges contained in their 1694 charter, which underlined the demarcation between them and the Physicians with regard to the question of midwifery. They asked for an opinion as to whether the practice of the art rested with themselves rather than with the Physicians. Henry Dundas, to whom the question was submitted, pointed out that when both societies of Surgeons and Physicians had been founded '... midwifery was not practised and understood to be a male operation... it has never been claimed as an exclusive right either of Physicians or Surgeons, but has been practised by any woman in the country who choosed to think herself qualified for it...'.⁴³ Dundas saw no point in discussing the issue.

With the development in midwifery techniques and the increasing introduction of the 'man-midwife', medical men may well have perceived women as a blemish on their profession. For example, writing in 1817 James Hamilton, the Professor of Midwifery at Edinburgh University, alleged that many respectable medical practitioners considered that women ought not to be permitted to exercise the profession.⁴⁴ The dismissive attitude of medical practitioners towards midwives is reflected in a defamation case in which a witness, a pregnant woman living in Bo'ness, informed the court that Smith, a Bo'ness surgeon, gave her drugs which 'made her worse and as a result she went to Mrs Knox, a midwife in Edinburgh

who gave her medicines which were simple, but when she returned and informed Smith about this he said they were no more use than Holy Water'.⁴⁵ Hamilton himself, however, did not agree with the opinion of those of his profession who were antagonistic towards the midwives:

'To this proposition I cannot assent. In about ninety-four cases of the hundred, the act of human Parturition requires no other assistance than what women can be taught to give...',

but he believed education was necessary for midwives so that they would know when to call for assistance from the medical practitioner should something go wrong.

'No woman', he asserted, 'can practice midwifery with safety to her patients, unless she understands the precise nature of the requisite professional assistance'.⁴⁶

Certainly, for most people concerned with the standards of midwifery the improvement in the subject for male practitioners suggested that education was the answer to the improvement of female participation. This concern was reflected in an article published in the Scots Magazine in August 1753:

'Some time ago I was in company at Edinburgh, where the conversation turned upon the present advantages of education which the students of medicine and surgery had there, by the several colleges given upon the different branches of those sciences, and the practice in both, to be seen in the Royal Infirmary. One of long experience took notice, that Scotland at present was remarkably better provided with young physicians and young surgeons than ever they were before; and ascribed all to the present advantages of their education.

By an easy transition, we came to speak of the advantages which the midwives might likewise have by a regular education at Edinburgh, where now there is a school opened for that purpose. But it is to be regretted, that though no branch of our business can be more useful, and no branch stands more in need of a prior education; yet so it is, that many years may pass ere our country feel the like advantages of this education among midwives, though we might enjoy them in a very short time, by a very easy plan.

If the midwives who boldly practice without any previous education, knew the mischief which they must do, ere they acquire tolerable skill, by their blunders; I am persuaded that few of them would engage in the profession, even for their daily bread.

Again, if the government of any state knew the loss sustained by the community from the ignorance of midwives, they would infallibly regulate their education, for political reasons.

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It is proposed, that there be a parish midwife educated regularly, and fixed in every parish throughout the country.

If the parish be too small, two or three may join to have one skilful midwife in the country-side. This woman is to be chosen by the heritors and kirk-session and sent to Edinburgh for her education: the expence of which may be got by voluntary contributions which must be a mere trifle to each contributor. And by this small expence, I may venture to say, that Scotland will in general have better educated midwives than any kingdom in Europe, and even in all probability may have the honour of introducing this method of educating the midwives in other countries abroad'.⁴⁷

Although education for midwives was provided in other Scottish towns it is obvious that Edinburgh was seen by the writer of this article as 'the seat of learning' for midwifery. The emphasis on Edinburgh had probably something to do with the scale of the teaching. Although there do not appear to be any surviving lists of women receiving midwifery instruction in the city, from which numbers can be assessed, James Hamilton, writing in 1817, alleged that since 1780 above a thousand women had been taught by the Professor of Midwifery at Edinburgh, adding that a great many had also been instructed in Aberdeen and Glasgow.⁴⁸ Several petitions were presented to the Commissioners for the Annexed Estates in the 1760s by women asking for financial help to obtain instruction in midwifery. These women all lived in the Callander area in

Perthshire but wished instruction from the Professor of Midwifery at Edinburgh although it was also available at Glasgow.⁴⁹

Thomas Young, who as has already been noted was the first Professor of Midwifery to give systematic lectures to his medical students, also gave courses of instruction to women and issued certificates to those who completed them and who demonstrated their competence as practising midwives. One of these certificates which has survived, signed by Thomas Young in 1768, certifies that Margaret Reid, midwife, 'attended three courses of my lectures upon the Theory and Practice of Midwifery as also the Lying-in ward in the Royal Infirmary for the space of [blank] Months by which means she had the opportunity of Operating in all the different sorts of Births. Edinburgh, 11 Day of June 1768'.⁵⁰

Another certificate is of a different nature and suggests that Young interviewed the prospective midwife before tuition:

'This is to certify that the Bearer Nelly Campbell seems to be sufficiently qualified to learn the Profession of Midwifery and the Expense of her Education is six guineas'.⁵¹

A letter from Professor James Hamilton to Lord and Lady Balgonie, who had sponsored a Mrs Davidson, also shows that the Professor had interviewed the woman before he accepted her for his course:

'He should have acknowledged the tenor of His Lordship's card last week had not the woman delayed calling on him till after the carrier had left Edinburgh.... Dr H. has reason to expect that she will prove a sufficiently industrious scholar.... Mrs Davidson was too late for the present class but Dr H. advised her to attend what remains of it as she must thereby understand better than she could otherwise do, the subjects she is to study next course'.

He also assured them that no woman could ever receive his certificate of her being qualified to practice midwifery without his being

'perfectly satisfied that she is so - and there is little risk of his being mistaken in that respect as the whole course and instructions to his female pupils is conducted in the form of question and answer'.⁵²

As far as the women themselves were concerned, however, they probably viewed instruction as a lever to demanding higher fees for their services from those who could afford them. In an urban context such as that of the capital the professional midwife was always in demand by the upper and middle classes, some of whom came into the city for the specific purpose of obtaining the services of a good midwife during their lying-in.

The professional midwife, however, was expected to attend women from all kinds of backgrounds, from the wives of lairds to prostitutes in the brothels. Regarding illegitimate births, it is worth noting that Dr Alexander Hamilton's plan for a lying-in hospital in the 1790s, to be set up by public subscription, included a special ward with midwives in attendance where mothers of illegitimate children could be delivered.

'Women who have been led astray from the paths of virtue will be received into the ward appropriated for midwives and thus besides being properly attended their shame will be concealed and therefore they may be induced to return to the practice of virtuous industry'.

In his Memorial to the magistrates of 1791, however, Hamilton added that

'As no patient will be admitted into the Hospital without an obligation from some respectable householder that the child shall not become a Burden on the public and as the delivery, etc. of every woman shall be carefully registered no children born in the hospital can ever be exposed [abandoned]'.⁵³

It is perhaps significant that the midwife was still being kept in contact with illegitimate births and even at the end of the century was still seen as the best person to monitor them. When in 1799 a professional Edinburgh midwife, a Jean Jack, was called to a house of bad-fame as it was usually known in the 18th century, to assist a woman about to give birth she refused to help unless the mother informed her 'who was the father of it'; which the woman did.⁵⁴

With regard to the illegitimate children referred to in his Memorial, Dr Hamilton seems to have envisaged that some of the fathers at least were able, in some cases well-able, to pay not only lying-in expenses but also those of nursing and boarding the infants. There would be less likelihood of these children's becoming a burden on the public. There are many scattered references to such fathers paying the lying-in expenses and for boarding the children. There are, of course, just as many instances of demands for payment from women, the fathers of whose infants chose to forget about them.

Francis Buchan, an Edinburgh merchant, and father of Agnes Buchanan's child, had asked Margaret Lucas to board Agnes who became very ill in childbirth and eventually died. Margaret Lucas asked Buchan for expenses incurred in looking after the girl which included the apothecary's bills, those of the wright and other funeral charges.⁵⁵ Buchan, having refused to pay, was taken to court by her; nevertheless, he might have fitted Dr Hamilton's description of the 'respectable householder' who would be willing to take responsibility for the child, if for no other reason than to hide the circumstances from his immediate family. For the midwife operating

in the City, however, delivering infants was not her only role in the community, as some examples from court processes reveal. Midwives were sometimes called in as witnesses in cases of dispute, concerning the birth of a child, with regard to wet-nursing, of violence towards pregnant women by their husbands or others, or simply because the midwife had been in the home of the complainer when the cause of dispute took place.

The Bamborough divorce case, from the commissary court records, is worth looking at again because it gives a picture of the involvement of the midwife in the community. The midwife in question, Mrs Jack, a carpenter's wife, was 40 years of age and 'a midwife by profession'. She was called to a house which she believed to be a house of bad-fame in order to assist Anne West whom 'she believed to be a woman of bad character'. As has already been noted, she refused to deliver the child unless the father was named. Anne West told her that the father was Robert Bamborough, a vintner. The midwife then told him that Anne West was in great poverty and unable to keep the child and suggested that the best he could do was to 'acquaint his wife of the child'.

Bamborough, however, seemed (to Mrs Jack) to be 'very vexed and at a great loss in what manner to dispose of the child'. To the midwife's suggestion that he tell his wife 'he answered that he could not do that for that it would ruin the peace of his family'. In that case, she told him he would be better to put the child out to nurse, to which he agreed. It was the midwife who set about finding a wet-nurse which she was able to do because she knew of women who

had recently been delivered. She succeeded in getting the wife of James Begg to nurse the child, having delivered the Beggs' child a few weeks before Anne West's child was born, but when James Begg heard that his wife had offered to nurse the child he said he would not allow it unless he knew who the father was. The midwife objected that she was not free to reveal the father's identity. Begg's wife appears to have gone to the mother and ascertained this herself and on being assured that Bamborough would pay quarterly Begg agreed. At 8 o'clock in the evening the wet nurse went to the house of the midwife and collected the child and took it to her own home.

It was the midwife who acted as go-between in the first instance with regard to the quarterly payments, being given the money by Bamborough to pass on to the Beggs. James Begg appears to have become dissatisfied with the payments and began dunning Bamborough for money. When she called at Begg's house to ask why he continued to harrass Bamborough, Begg shouted from his bed that he would 'do for her when he came out', whereupon she took it upon herself to tell Bamborough's wife, 'so as to save her husband from being imposed upon' for the money. In her letter the midwife told Mrs Bamborough that the Beggs only wished to pick her husband's pocket and it was a pity they should be allowed to do so. She told Bamborough himself that the Beggs might demand money until the child was 10 years old, (after which the child would presumably go into service or apprenticeship). It is difficult to understand the midwife's concern for Bamborough's pocket. Her reason for writing to Mrs Bamborough, however, may simply have been that she thought she ought to know about the child. Begg had written to Bamborough asking for

money for clothes and necessities for the child who had been ill: 'she is still needfull of sum shirts', he wrote, 'for the truble she has had is worn them very sor but she is a good dale better'. Several letters have survived in the court papers which suggest that most contact between Bamborough and the midwife was by letter. Mrs Bamborough sent to Mrs Jack for her husband's letters when the matter eventually led to a divorce case.⁵⁶

Although in this case the midwife's trouble was due to Anne West's particular circumstances, her deposition shows that such circumstances were familiar to her and also shows just how intimate her knowledge of the community could be. It is also clear that the midwife could be called upon to take vital decisions regarding the domestic circumstances into which she was called during the course of her work.

A court action of 1793 illustrates the midwife's involvement in domestic violence. This time the midwife, Christian Dickson, wife of Hugh Hunter, a gentleman's servant, was called in as a witness in a case of wife-beating. The midwife had been asked by a neighbour to attend Mary Walker, the wife of James Paterson, then far advanced in her pregnancy. When Christian Dickson arrived she saw that 'she [Mary Walker] had been hurt in a most shocking manner and was in extreme pain crying out most dreadfully as if in a most raving fit'. Being questioned by the midwife as to how she had received her injuries, Mary Walker confessed (only on the midwife's second visit) that her husband had dragged her through the room by her apron with 'such violence that the string, which was strong linen broke in three places, and he gave her a kick in the lower part of the belly, and

showed it to her...'. When she saw what had been done the midwife decided that the case was much too dangerous for her to deal with and advised sending for a doctor. Dr MacDonald applied a poultice but tried unsuccessfully to obtain leeches, it being late at night and the laboratory (presumably at the Infirmary) being closed. Although confessing to the midwife that her husband had kicked her Mary Walker told the doctor that she did not know what had caused her injuries, but Dr MacDonald had his own thoughts and, according to the midwife's deposition, he 'took the defender [Paterson] into another room, but what passed between them the deponent does not know'. Dr MacDonald attended the patient regularly and gave her medicines but when Mary Walker asked him to lance the wound he said he would like a second opinion and sent for Dr Shiels. When the woman was actually in labour the midwife was sent for but she refused to do the delivery as she thought the woman would die and asked for a doctor to be summoned; the doctor undertook the delivery.

This case shows that not only was the midwife concerned with the actual deliveries but that if there were complications she might have to attend the patient for some time before the birth. In this case she attended Mary Walker for eight days before the delivery and continued to attend her for some time afterwards. She stated that during the time she attended she had seen Dr MacDonald give medicines to the patient and that she herself had informed the doctor that Paterson had kicked his wife.⁵⁷

The case of the wet-nurse, Margaret Adamson, already discussed, suggests that the midwife might still be around when the nurse took over. The midwife, in this instance Mrs Johnston, who was called as

a witness, was able to support the doctor's allegation that Margaret Adamson's milk was not suitable. She also witnessed the fact that Margaret Adamson had caused the child's arm to be broken. There is significant information given regarding the midwife herself: 'Mary Johnston, relict of James Johnston, weaver, 30 years and upwards, professes the business of midwife and attends Mrs Hay at her inlyings'.⁵⁸ This suggests that midwives may have tended to return to the same women to deliver their infants, which in itself would make the midwife familiar with particular domestic circumstances and give her knowledge of possible problems based on experience at previous births.

Not all professional midwives would be as responsible as those discussed here, but in the capital it was probably worthwhile having a good reputation, for there would be no shortage of demand from women who could pay something, however little. Payment was no doubt a problem not only for the poor, who may have used pledging as a means of payment, but for the midwife herself. There is little evidence which throws light on the midwives' problem of subsistence. It is possible that like other women they had at times to bargain for payment for their services. For example, when Lord Reay's creditors complained about several bills incurred by his wife they were told, regarding payment to the midwife Mrs Taylor, that if they continued to quibble the normal midwife's rates would be charged, which suggests that in this case the charge had been modified. In her deposition Lord Reay's widow, Elizabeth Fairlie, stated that her husband had settled an annuity on James Taylor's wife for attending the deponent and any poor people in the country as midwife and sick-

nurse. Mrs Taylor had travelled from Tongue to Edinburgh in the winter of 1767 to attend to Lady Reay and had received no remuneration for all her attendances. Presumably she was to receive payment for these apart from the annuity, although in the light of the latter the rate of payment may have been modified.⁵⁹ In the country where many people were too poor to pay and the midwife might have had trouble in obtaining even a meagre living, things may have been very different.

There is no doubt, however, that the most important aspect of midwifery in the context of this study, is that women saw their services in terms of a profession or business by which they could earn their bread. When appearing as witnesses they are designated as 'a midwife by profession' or, as in the case of Mrs Johnston, 'professes the business of midwife'. The petitions which have survived⁶⁰ among the records of the Commissioners of the Annexed Estates underline this concern. They show that training in midwifery was seen as a means to employment. Although the safety of mothers and children is stated in these petitions to be the priority, the women and those who sponsored them saw midwifery as a way of maintaining themselves and their families.

GRAVECLOTHES-MAKERS

During a search in Edinburgh Commissary Court records, 1750-1800, for information on shopkeepers 106 graveclothes-makers came to light. Seventeen others were identified in family papers and burgh court processes. Those who turn up in the Commissary Court records do so because they are included as creditors among those demanding

payment of funeral expenses: for example, wrights, coach-hirers and surgeons. These funeral bills were treated as preferable debts, which had to be paid before the other creditors got their hands on the estate.

The bills, together with the depositions of witnesses, give a lot of information on the Scots funeral and women's involvement in it, the ceremony being in some ways more important than that of the marriage. As Topham remarked, 'Here [Scotland] there is no occasion for any particular ceremony [at marriage], two people have only to call themselves Man and Wife and they are so'. When he visited Edinburgh in 1775, however, he also observed:

I Know no place where you behold more frequent Funerals than in this City, and they are conducted with a silence and a solemnity which makes sorrow appear still more dismal. On these occasions, in England, you know, no distress is seen; for, as the afflicted hire others to mourn for them, it cannot be supposed that people should be affected by distresses which are nothing to them....

In this place, instead of applying to an undertaker for a group of grim figures, and dismal faces, they send a card, as the French do, to all the persons of their acquaintance, desiring their attendance at the funeral. ... They all dress themselves at these meetings in a suit of black, which has something in it peculiarly mournful: all the nearest relations, besides putting on weepers, which are common with us, fix a long piece of muslin to the collar of the shirt that hangs down before as far as the middle of the waist...

In the Funerals of the lower classes... the procession is always on foot. The coffin is carried by four people, the minister walks before it, and all the friends and relations follow. They proceed with a slow, solemn pace to the Kirk: and as the relationship extends itself a great way in this Country, a whole street is sometimes nearly filled with this sable procession.

Persons of higher rank are carried in hearses; but with none of that ostentatious pomp and ceremony which is so frequent, and generally so ridiculous in England...: an hearse followed by a mourning coach, is all the parade that you will see;...'.61

Before the middle of the century it was usual to contact various craftsmen and merchants in order to provide the necessities for the funeral. It was very often the wright who presented the funeral bills to the Commissary Court on behalf of the other creditors. The general bill would list payments due to the wright for the coffin, the gravediggers, bellringers, the graveclothes-maker, the nurse, the cost of the hire of the mortcloth, and the coachmaker for the hearse and coaches (if the status of the person required it). If the rooms, church and coach were to be draped with black fabric as was done for the aristocracy, gentry and even the professional classes, then there might also be payment due to a tailor. Payment would also be due to those who supplied the food, wine and candles.

The second half of the century, however, saw a change in the ordering of funerals. Instead of contacting several tradesmen it became fashionable to ask an undertaker to deal with every aspect of the funeral ceremony. These undertakers were usually upholsterers who stocked all the supplies necessary for funerals. The undertaking business had in fact begun in London, according to Clare Gittings, in the last quarter of the 17th century.⁶² However in Edinburgh an advertisement in the Caledonian Mercury on 8 June 1753 stated that the business was 'quite new here'. From the terms of the advertisement it is clear that Young, Trotter and Caddell the upholsterers were hoping to get business by emphasising that this was 'practised in London'. The fashionable graveclothes could now be supplied either 'in the Scots or English manner', while although

Topham had not been aware of them there is evidence that mutes were being hired, even if only rarely.

Shrouds could be bought ready-made in London from the late 17th century and were probably readily available mass-produced by the 18th century. As the Swiss traveller Misson wrote in 1719:

'To make these dresses is a particular trade, and there are many that sell nothing else; so that these habits for the dead are always to be had ready made, of what size or price you please, for people of every age and sex.'⁶³

It is likely that for most of the 18th century in Edinburgh graveclothes were made by graveclothes-makers who dealt with customers individually. However, by the end of the century merchants like Trotter and Caddell may well have been supplying these ready-made, brought from London with the many other kinds of ready-made goods advertised in the newspapers.

Francis Tate, an Englishman, writing in 1771 asserted that 'by whom it is done [dressing the corpse] I think at this day is little regarded among us',⁶⁴ while Clare Gittings, who has made a study of the English funeral, suggests that it was probably done by the poor, who were usually given the less-pleasant jobs to do.⁶⁵ It is clear from many of the depositions of witnesses in the Scottish cases that the women who made the graveclothes also put them on. This is important because the social status of a number of these women is recorded; although it is not possible to identify the social background of all of them there is sufficient evidence to establish the kind of women who were involved in this kind of employment for most of the eighteenth century.

The following Table is intended to show the spread of professions and crafts reflected in the known connections of women engaged in the trade of graveclothes-making. Of the 38 whose husbands can be clearly identified 15 were widows.

Social background of graveclothes-makers: married women:

<u>Husband's occupation</u>	<u>Wives</u>	<u>Widows</u>	<u>Total</u>
Writer	2	4	6
Wright	3	2	5
Merchant	1	4	5
Goldsmith	2	1	3
Glazier	2	-	2
Musician	-	2	2
Surgeon	2	-	2
Tailor	2	-	2
Baxter	1	-	1
Flesher	-	1	1
Minister	1	-	1
Officer of Excise	1	-	1
Officer of Royal Bank	-	1	1
Post Office clerk	1	-	1
Professor of Hebrew	1	-	1
Saddler	1	-	1
Smith	1	-	1
Teacher	1	-	1
Wigmaker	1	-	1
<u>Grand total</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>38</u>

There were also 9 single women. In 6 cases the occupation of the father is known: 3 were writers and 3 were surgeons.

There are two reasons why the social background of the other 59 graveclothes-makers has not been established. Firstly, the name of the graveclothes-maker is normally found in the general funeral bill submitted to the Commissary Court, where she is often merely designated, for example, 'Mrs Lindsay for the graveclothes' or 'Jean Hume for the graveclothes', so that if the individual bill for graveclothes is not extant we lack a fuller designation of the woman which might have included her husband's name and occupation. Secondly, even an individual bill from the graveclothes-maker herself may be headed 'Dr to Mrs Lindsay' but be receipted (signed) 'Jean Hume', that is with the woman's own surname without mention or information about the husband, merely indicating that she is married. There are instances of wives using only their own names in both heading and signature on their bills.

Although 47 may seem a small sample out of 123 yet a reading of the employments of husbands and fathers provides its own internal evidence in that all the known male relatives were professionals, merchants or craftsmen. It is extremely unlikely, had such an occupation been carried on by the very poor, that the wives of writers, goldsmiths and ministers would have had anything to do with it. It is important to remember, of course, that these women were employed by the better-off, or if by poorer people at least by those who had some place in the community, poorer tradesmen and craftsmen for example. The poorer people who could not afford such services at all would be buried in a sheet or the equivalent. Andrew Thomson's testament mentions that he had 'one shirt put on his corpse, one torn

down to wrap him in'.⁶⁶ However, even the poor did their utmost to provide a decent burial. Isobel McKaill was called upon to make graveclothes for Peter Chalmers who died a bankrupt in the Canongate prison.⁶⁷

Graveclothes-making was done mainly by individual women who made them in their own houses but also by some women who had shops. Janet Anderson, a milliner and a writer's daughter, Mrs Roberts, who was mainly a hoopmaker, Christian Brown, a writer's daughter and a shopkeeper, and Mary Esplin, who taught embroidery at her shop 'The Hand and Pen'. However, the available evidence does not suggest that graveclothes were mass-produced but were always bespoke. The possession of burgess rights does not appear to have been necessary for this employment although there is evidence that during the period when the Merchant Company was extra vigilant such women might be summoned from time to time. Patrick Rattray, a surgeon-apothecary whose wife Helen Adam made graveclothes, was called to appear before the Merchant Company in 1709 accused of unfree trading.

'Mr Rattray druggist compearing denys his wife and he sells anything which may subject him to the Merchant Company except a remnant of musline which his wife was necessitate to take from a bad debtor and the making of dead linnens which [the fabric] she buys from merchants in Edinburgh...'.⁶⁸

The treasurer was instructed to 'forbear fining Mr Rattray until further probation of trade against them. Meantime warn that if they do they will be fined £20'.⁶⁸ Helen Adam was not deterred since she is found making and selling graveclothes in 1735 six years after her husband's death.

Although the actual term 'graveclothes-maker' is not often used in the cases referred to it does appear occasionally. Margaret Middleton and her partner Miss Innes, for example, are called 'flannel or graveclothes-makers' in the court process and in the 1773 Edinburgh Directory Mrs Aitkenhead is called a graveclothes-maker. What is clear is that the women involved saw it as a regular employment. Margaret Middleton referred to Miss Innes as her 'partner', Jean Kinnaird stated that she had been in the business for many years. Women saw this employment as a way of making money and for most of them as an employment they could follow at home. A letter to Lady Ross of Pitcalnie written from Inverness in 1768 from a friend, Lily Anderson, shows that graveclothes-making was seen in this light:

'... inform yourself of the best and cheapest hands in Edinburgh for making graveclothes as I would incline to make my honest endeavours to make the penny - there being no doing without it'.

She asked Lady Ross to buy her

'two suits, one fine and the other middling, let one be for a man and the other for a woman the reason of this is that I may see the latest fashions at present... as I intend keeping seedcake plumcake and biscuit of different kinds to answer funerals, must beg you will speak to Paul Husband or any other proper person in that way to know how they would deal wt me that is to sell them again...'.⁶⁹

In the bills graveclothes are variously called 'deid linens', dead woolens, deadclothes, flannens, 'flangges' and burying suit. There were varying degrees of fineness, giving rise to many arguments with regard to the quality and cost on the part of creditors who wished to keep down the funeral expenses as much as possible. In cases where the cost was queried the witnesses might refer to the

graveclothes in such terms as 'very handsome', or 'genteel'. One witness even stated that the corpse was very genteely dressed in flannels, another that the clothes were 'fashionable'. In England the common name was shroud, a term sometimes used in the Edinburgh receipts towards the end of the century. The use of gloves and, in one instance, a pillow suggests that the fashionable wished to import English, or more precisely London customs. Most bills included a ruffle for the coffin. From the depositions of witnesses it is evident that individual graveclothes-makers 'agreed' the price with those who employed them. The status of the person to be buried certainly had an influence on the quality and fineness of the fabric.

Some of the graveclothes-makers had servants or young women to help them. Henrietta Cumming, who helped Barbara Cowan her aunt to make and deliver the clothes, was a writingmaster's daughter and sister of James Cumming, herald painter, Margaret Farquharson, who assisted Christian Hay, was a writer's daughter. Sometimes, however, it appears that the graveclothes-maker called in a seamstress to assist if pressed for time or when several commissions had to be finished quickly. Sarah Chisholm, 'sewster', who was just over twenty, helped Margaret Maxwell to 'sew seams at different times'. Margaret Davy 'sempster', a witness in one case, said that she had been in the house and had 'seen the corpse', probably because she had been sewing the graveclothes. These women, although young, went with the graveclothes-makers and were present when the corpse was dressed. When Christian Hay took graveclothes to Dalkeith Margaret Farquharson went with her in a chaise. Isobel Young, aged

20, servant to John Cheyne, surgeon in Leith, assisted his sister Jean Cheyne. In her deposition Isobel said that 'she was in the defunct's house when her master assisted with William Inglis, surgeon in Edinburgh, in opening the defunct's corpse and she helped to swaddle his body and put on his dead flannels alongst with the cedent [creditor] Jean Cheyne who made and brought the dead flannels with her'.⁷⁰

Many women were also involved with funeral provisions such as cake and wine. The names of some of them occur over a period of years, supplying the same goods. Like the graveclothes-makers they were married or single, and were related to professionals, merchants and craftsmen. These provisions were outwith those made by the baxters' incorporation so that women were free to bake such foodstuffs as plumcake and funeral biscuit; Betty Haig sold shortbread for this purpose which she baked herself. Some funeral suppliers were more like grocers, although this term is not commonly used until late in the century. Janet Hamilton sold, besides biscuit and cake, candles, wine, pipes and tobacco. Margaret Hope and Company provided wine as well as almond and plain biscuit. Some women not only provided food and wine but also candles and scones and contacted someone to act as master-household who organised the funeral ceremony. One such Company trading as 'undertaker' was that of 'Lilias Christie and Company'; Lilias was in partnership with a relative Margaret Hepburn, the daughter of John Hepburn, minister of Greyfriars' Kirk in the 1750s. As a professional man's daughter, especially a minister's daughter, she could probably rely on plenty of social contacts to keep the business going.⁷¹

The Representatives of the Right Hon^{ble} The Lord Balmorino
To M^{rs} McKenzie

1746.

January 6 th	To hanging 2 very large Rooms with black leather night	3.. 3..
	To hanging a large Lobby with D ^o	1.. 1..
	To hanging a stair with D ^o	.. 10.. 6
	To four black Standages 2/6 carriage of black to & from Leith 10/6 ^d	.. 12.. 6
8 th	To Eighty Six glass Scones for one night	4.. 6..
	To one night of a gilded globe for the stair case with twelve lights	.. 3..
	To the carriage of the scones to and from Leith	1.. 10..
	To 4 dozen white-iron Scones sent to Prestalrig	.. 8..
	To Carriage of these to and from Prestalrig	.. 2..
	To 12 1/2 pound Plumb and Seed Cakes at 16 ^d	.. 16.. 8
	To one pound finest Biscuit @ 3/	.. 3..
	To one pound Almond & 2 1/2 ^d Common d ^o	.. 3.. 4
	To one fine Seed-Cake	.. 12..
	To one fine Plumb-Cake	.. 12..
	To 6 pounds finest biscuit @ 3/	.. 18..
	To 2 1/2 ^d Almond Ditto @ 1/8	.. 3.. 4
	To one 1/2 ^d Spongy & Savoy @ 2/8 one pound common @ 10 ^d	.. 2.. 10
	To 1 1/2 ^d Seed cake	.. 6..
	To 3 1/2 pound Wax lights @ 3/2 ^d	5.. 2..
	To 3 pound Large Wax lights @ 3/3 ^d	.. 9.. 9
	To 1/4 Hambeaux	.. 4..
	To Carriage of bread glasses and Servers	.. 4..
	To a Suit of Super fine flannelle with a very large Sheet & covers for four Standages and for my own frame and trouble as undertaker in providing the severall articles above specified	17.. 17..

£39.. 9.. 11

Pay the above Sum of Thirty nine pounds nine
shillings eleven pence Sterling to Edward Peter
Wright Esq^r for my Belove Eliza McKenzie

Another woman who acted as an undertaker was Elizabeth Hay, widow of David MacKenzie, merchant. She was asked to undertake the funeral arrangements of Lord Balmerino, judge of the Court of Session, who died in 1746.⁷² The bill itself gives some idea of how much work and organisation was involved in dealing with such a commission. The hanging of black cloth on the walls of the house, included in the bill, was usual in the homes of the aristocracy and gentry and professionals; even church pews and the carriage were draped in black cloth. It would appear that the black cloth, like the flannel for graveclothes, came in various qualities for one wright noted that the black cloth on the bill had been used in the coach, it being 'too coarse for the Church'.

Other women involved in the funeral business included the wives of confectioners such as Charles Spalding and Paul Husband, the latter a well-known purveyor of funeral plumcake and biscuit. As women's mournings were also part of the preferable debts, many women shopkeepers and mantuamakers benefited from commissions. The men also required weepers, stocks and gloves, including gloves given to the minister and to friends and others officiating at the funeral, which were given out by the master-household. Altogether, funerals in the capital gave much employment to women whether married or single.

CONCLUSION

An examination of the employments just discussed reveals that, far from working in the seclusion of their own homes, women were

Opposite: Account to Elizabeth Mackenzie, graveclothes-maker, for supplying the graveclothes and the funeral provisions and arrangements for Lord Balmerino, judge, 1746 (CC8/4/455)

involved in all aspects of care in the community. The graveclothes-makers, although doing the actual making at home, were involved in an intimate way in those households to which they were called. They were involved, however, not only with other women but also with the men who were called upon to provide for the sick and dying in the course of their employments. Barbara Cowan (Mrs Urquhart) accompanied the surgeon, Mr Adie, in the chaise to Queensferry when she supplied graveclothes for the Countess of Rosebery.⁷³ Those who were the wives of wrights or surgeons were in reality involved in the businesses of their husbands, those who were single in those of their fathers. The family of the surgeon John Cheyne, an Edinburgh burgess and member of the Incorporation of Surgeons, were all involved in the funeral business; he and his sons were surgeons in Leith and his wife and daughters were graveclothes-makers. The surgeon-apothecary Thomas Rattray's wife and daughter made graveclothes and continued to do so after his death. Indeed his widow, Helen Adam, claimed the expenses not only of graveclothes but medicines which she had supplied for Charlotte Fraser, the daughter of Captain Simon Fraser. Perhaps after her husband's death she employed an apothecary to help her keep on a certain amount of business.

The fact that surgeons owned shops where they kept their medicines may have encouraged this kind of female involvement. Even the servants of surgeons, apothecaries and druggists must have become familiar with certain parts of the business. For example, Isobel Young in her deposition stated that she had '... for the most part daily occasion to see her master's servants in the shop making up

medicines for the defunct and had occasion to hear her master daily leaving word at the shop that he was going to visit the defunct and she had on frequent occasions to call for and find him at the defunct's house when other patients wanted him'.⁷⁴ Mary Napier, sister of a druggist Archibald Napier and said to be 'his shopkeeper', stated that she had 'assisted [him] in keeping the shop for these eight years ... that the deponent made up most of the articles herself and delivered them to the defunct and also part to her servant in his name...'.⁷⁵

Many of the women in the above employments would become well-known in the community. When Christian Davidson came before the Merchant Company, having had her goods poulded for unfree trading, she claimed to be a roomsetter. It is significant that it is recorded in the Minutes that '[the treasurer] being told by some members that this is so', she was given back her poind; these merchants not only knew her but were prepared to vouch for her. With regard to sick-nurses it has been shown that they might be in the same household for quite long periods, and since they were often called upon to sit up at night on their own with the sick person they had to be trustworthy and were probably well-known to those requiring such services. Anne Nixon stated that she was 'much conversant in the defunct's family for several years, and attended him [Robert Cormack] as a nurse and was daily in the house after his death'.⁷⁶

The money gained from these employments was vital to the women's livelihoods. It is clear that when they took their claims to court this question of their livelihood was emphasised on their

behalf. When Margaret Urie was accused by the Earl of Crawford and his son of giving in an extravagant bill for her son's graveclothes, which she herself had made, they insisted that she ought to inform the court how much she had paid for the flannel and that the cost of the graveclothes should be modified from £10 to £4. However, her representative asserted,

'... it is quite ridiculous for the defenders [the Crawfords] to contend that the pursuer [Margaret Urie] ought to condescend on the price she paid for ells of flannel...',

adding that she was no more obliged to disclose this than was a wright to disclose the price of the wood used for a coffin or a surgeon the cost to himself of his medicines, maintaining that,

'... this would be disclosing the secrets of their trade which they are not bound to do. The rule in all such cases for the determining the same is the current and ordinary price such manufactures give...'.⁷⁷

Although the court in this instance modified the cost of the graveclothes from £10 to £7, this decision was not necessarily influenced by the fact that the pursuer was a woman for there are instances of modifications in the case of coach-hirers, for example.

Although women worked alongside men in the community there is no doubt that they found mutual support among themselves. This is seen especially in their willingness to witness and vouch for one another with regard to the quality or price of the commodity in question. In the case of roomsetters witnesses would often be able to tell how much rent had been charged and whether it was reasonable or not. Their ability to make statements was always based on their knowing the creditor well, being for example a 'door neighbour', or

'often in the house' or the witness might be engaged in the same employment. At other times women were simply brought together because they were involved in the caring services required in a community where someone like Mary Ronaldson might be put in the Canongate tolbooth because she was 'delirious' and had nobody to look after her. When Ann Hill claimed payment from a poultryman John Watson for sitting up with his wife who was ill, a witness stated that Watson had 'told her [Ann Hill] to get out of the house' but that his dying wife had answered that she had saved her life these three weeks'. Such statements suggest that although women depended on the payment received for such services they also fulfilled an important role in community-care.

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3. Ibid., 22 May 1755.
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14. Ibid., CC8/4/472.
15. Ibid., CC8/4/518.
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17. Edinburgh Commissariat Court Records, CC8/4/505.
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CHAPTER THREE

SINGLE WOMEN AND INDEPENDENCEIntroduction

In Chapter One the retail trade was used to investigate how far women were able to operate in the burgh in spite of legal restrictions. In this Chapter shopkeeping in general and the textile trades will be used to discover to what extent single women could become independent. Single women are here defined as all women before marriage, not necessarily those who remained unmarried to the end of their lives. This definition is important for it must be remembered that many of the wives and widows who will be discussed in the next Chapter were able to help in their husbands' businesses because of skills learned before they were married.

Much recent discussion about single women and work has centred on the question of their independence outside the family home and the availability of suitable employment. Although the employments of shopkeeping and the textile trades have been noted by historians they are quickly dismissed without any attempt to show what this work entailed or its significance in the women's lives. This dismissal follows from the assumption that women's occupations were not stable or continuous in any way and therefore did not earn them an occupational designation. For example, Rosemary O'Day claims that in the 18th and early 19th centuries women were as much restricted to their domestic roles as in the 16th century. 'The types of work which girls did in the wider world before marriage remained essentially those that were extensions of traditional female

roles...', two of these being 'washing and assisting in shops'.¹ Bridget Hill, writing about jobs for women in the 18th century, states, 'Increasingly entry was confined to those [jobs] regarded as traditionally "women's trades", millinery, mantuamaking and the work of seamstresses'.² Peter Earle, writing about London, 1660-1730, makes the same point: 'Few girls in London were apprenticed to trades and those that were tended to be concentrated in a few feminine occupations such as millinery, mantuamaking, lacemaking, various branches of the silk industry and shopkeeping trades'.³ What has been missed by these historians is the fact that such trades contained the potential for independence because they were skilled trades and had to be learned. Now trades that had to be learned always led to recognised occupations; this was no different for women than for men. It seems strange, therefore, that when women sew, historians dismiss this as a 'feminine' occupation, that of mantuamaker for example, whereas when men sew it is regarded as an occupation which gives identity and status, that of tailor or upholsterer, for example. It is not surprising that historians, such as Michael Roberts, writing on women's history in England, have concluded that most women had no significant occupational identity.⁴ R. A. Houston, also writing about occupational designations and including Scotland, writes,

'women are almost never given an occupational or status designation of their own in early modern documents, despite the importance of their involvement in the labour force. The only appellations which women enjoyed in any numbers was that of servant, though very occasionally [my italics] terms such as

midwife, shopkeeper, innkeeper, mantuamaker, apprentice or portioner are used in the court records'.

He too asserts that 'many employments for women were simply an extension of their domestic tasks'.⁵

In the Scottish 18th-century records examined in the course of this study, however, women whether single, married or widowed, if engaged in employment, are normally given occupational designations. These designations were also used by the women themselves as has already been shown: 'had been in the business of graveclothesmaking many years', was 'a midwife by profession', 'ordinary [i.e. regular] mantuamaker to...', 'it is the deponent's business to wait on such sick people'. In one case involving a sick-nurse a deponent made clear that the woman in question had been a 'nurse' and not a 'servant':

'... that she was of a higher rank or degree than a common servant girl and not only attended the defunct during his last illness but likewise attended and waited upon his spouse for about 2 months or ten weeks during which time she was valitudinary and in such a bad state of health as to make a nurse absolutely necessary'.⁶

Rouping women too are always given a clear designation. Even when recorded as 'spouse or relict of' they are also designated as 'rouping woman in Edinburgh'. Janet Lothian is designated as 'ordinary accustomed rousing woman within the city'.⁷ Shopkeeper, milliner and merchant are also used and indeed in the early part of the century when the Old Exchange was in use women are sometimes identified as 'Mary Blair shopkeeper in the Laigh Exchange' and 'shopkeeper in the Luckenbooths'.

The conclusion reached by the historians quoted above that such employments somehow 'confined' women is to some extent the result of

ignorance of the nature of the trades themselves and how much skill they demanded. Because women have been traditionally involved in textile trades and in the production of food and drink it is assumed that these were mere extensions of their household tasks. As Lindsey Charles points out, however, 'retailing does not seem to arise naturally from household tasks except perhaps experience gained in marketing yet it seems in general to have been an important female activity at all social levels'.⁸ She also adds that baking was as much, if not more, of a male than female trade.

While it is true that there were some women who could earn a little by sewing from time to time, the employments under discussion such as shopkeeping, mantuamaking and millinery all required some education and training. It must be remembered that women (in the context of this chapter single women) in these trades were no different from men who were employed in shopkeeping, tailoring and staymaking, and all of whom required a period of education and training. Adam Smith drew attention to the fact that 'even a little grocer ... must be able to read, write and account, must be a tolerable judge of goods, their prices, qualities and the market where they are to be had cheapest'.⁹ This applied just as much to women; like men their ultimate independence was to a large extent closely related to their training. Catherine Campbell who had had no training in shopkeeping failed as a tea seller because 'through ignorance she had given credit to people who wouldn't pay'.¹⁰

In order to get some indication of the measure of independence single women derived from these employments it is necessary first of

all to look at the availability of education and training for girls in 18th century Edinburgh.

EDUCATION

In 1699 Edinburgh town council minutes recorded that,

'there are now many children in Edinburgh whose parents and relations are not able in those hard times to pay quarter payments to schoolmasters for their childrens education at schools, for remedy whereof it is proposed that there be a free school forthwith set up in Edinburgh to teach such children'.¹¹

Accordingly, George Clerk, precentor at the Tolbooth Kirk, was employed to teach both boys and girls reading, writing, 'common tunes of music' and some arithmetic. His wife was to teach the girls 'to work stockings'. Clerk was told that the children were to be taught gratis and that he would have a salary of ten pounds sterling. Preference was always to be given to the 'good Town's pensioners and foundlings'.¹² In 1706 when the school was visited he had over 60 pupils and in 1713 the Edinburgh presbytery minutes record that the children were taught 'to read the Holy Scriptures and other good books, writing and arithmetic and the girls are taught to knit stockings'.¹³ Another charity school was established in 1714 maintained by voluntary subscription collected at the church doors. However, this school did not survive 1740, when it was closed because it 'has not served the design thereof'. This was probably because the collections were insufficient to keep it operating. Other charity schools were founded by men such as John Wightman of Mailsby, once Lord Provost, and Sir James McLurg of Vogrie.¹⁴

The Kirk Session accounts also throw light on the provision of

education for poor girls, where it is recorded that women were paid to teach 'poor scholars'. Christian Smith for example, was paid to teach Margaret Hay who in turn was paid to teach other poor children. Christian Smith was paid over a number of years for teaching poor scholars.¹⁵ Free education was also provided by three Charity Working Schools founded by the SSPCK in Edinburgh. The instruction there consisted of reading, writing and church music and the girls were again taught to spin and knit stockings by a mistress who was appointed to each school for the purpose. However, the Edinburgh SSPCK schools lasted only about ten years, finally closing in 1768.¹⁶

Leaving aside the Charity schools, Workhouse and Orphan Hospital for the moment, the cheapest of the fee-paying schools were the English schools which were set up after a Report by Edinburgh presbytery in 1759. The Report claimed that there were about two thousand children who were not sent to any school, and of whose education it was impossible to give any account. Four English schools were therefore set up but were not free: 3s was charged for English, 2s 6d each for writing and arithmetic and a charge of 2s for coal and candle. Other schools were run in the capital by independent teachers, where fees varied.¹⁷

How far the educational provision described above was of help to girls seeking employment in shopkeeping and textile trades is difficult if not impossible to assess. However, two points are worth making. First of all, in most charity schools for poor girls the emphasis was on the practical side, spinning, weaving and knitting stockings - or the 'useful arts'. Indeed, this emphasis was such that in the SSPCK schools it is possible that girls spent

more time in the craft room than in the teaching room, the latter being set aside for reading and writing. The patent gave the Society powers to erect schools 'for the instruction of children, especially female children in some of the most useful and necessary arts of life'.¹⁸ With regard to the Town's Free Schools, it is not clear whether on the retiral of George Clerk and the appointment of John Findlater the girls were still being taught stocking-making, although a woman was no doubt engaged for the purpose.

The emphasis in the Merchant and Trades Maiden Hospitals was also on the practical and the work the girls did was intended to provide them with the means of earning their bread. While the boys in Heriot's and Watson's were concentrating on English, Latin, Geography and book-keeping the girls in the Hospitals were spinning, making shirts for French prisoners-of-war, tambouring vests, ruffles and handkerchiefs, sewing all kinds of white and coloured seam and learning mantuamaking.¹⁹ Although reading, writing and arithmetic were taught by visiting masters it is doubtful if the girls could have had much concentration left over after the work they got through, to master their lessons.

The second point worth noting is that as far as the non-practical subjects were concerned the main emphasis was on reading, the bible mainly being used as a textbook for learning purposes. For although books may have been provided in some of the Charity Schools one of the masters of the Free School drew attention to the lack of books there when he wrote in the 1760s,

'It is true that this school may in some sense be said to be in its infancy and taught by imitations and rules only, viva voce, for want of proper books...'²⁰

which suggests that more than 50 years after the school was set up provision for the poor was far from adequate.

Indeed, in his complaint to the Town Council this same teacher said that whereas the English schools had been mentioned in the newspapers, 'Your Free School has been entirely neglected', suggesting that as far as 'academic' education was concerned the magistrates may have been mainly interested in the English schools which catered for the paying middle classes.²¹

Considering the size of Edinburgh's population, the highest in the country in the 18th century, it is hardly likely that poorer parents who were anxious for their daughters to find employment other than domestic service had much hope in the form of the Free Schools and even although there were other Charity Schools the number of girls taught in them would really be quite small, as both girls and boys were accommodated and the classes were not large. Some of the girls discussed below may have been educated in the Trades or Merchant Maiden Hospitals, which may have provided them with rudimentary reading and writing skills, as well as the sewing skills that were necessary in textile employments. However, we cannot tell how easy it was to obtain a job when leaving these Hospitals, although since a reference would be forthcoming these girls may have found jobs not open to those from the Charity Workhouse or Orphan Hospital. These latter institutions certainly provided some education but the fact that girls were usually sent from them to 'common service' suggests that the emphasis was on practical skills not only helpful to themselves but beneficial to the institutions. As for the Governesses of the Trades and Merchant Maiden Hospitals,

they worked not only to make the girls more useful but 'in hope to improve the annual income of the Hospital'.²²

There is evidence to suggest, however, that even quite small tradesmen and craftsmen were prepared to pay private writing masters to educate their daughters. Daniel MacDonald, a tailor, for example, had in 1744 sent his daughter Anne to a teacher John Stirling to be taught English; the case turns up as a Burgh Court process because MacDonald had not fully paid his account. It is interesting as showing how education had to fit into the family situation and at the same time something of the public attitude to teachers. The surviving bill shows that Stirling charged 5s per quarter, the tailor having 'agreed' to have Ann taught from October 1742 to July 1743. Stirling also charged 2d for a spelling book, 5s for coal and candle and 3s to 'warden collections'. However, when it came to completing his payment MacDonald objected that Ann had been absent for some weeks, because of which he had expected to pay less. In the answers for Stirling, however, it was stated that,

'... the whole charge of teaching his daughter is no more than 20s school dues... He was so pleased with her performance that no man made higher encomium on a child or master than he did till he came to be craved... no man but Mr MacDonald ever pretended to make a teacher keep accounts of children's short absences and indeed it would be an impossible task as such parents use their children...'.²³

This seems to suggest that the teacher believed that Ann's parents had kept her at home to help. This may well have been true, for in a tailor's business no doubt a daughter would be useful. For such parents, although education was desirable, subsistence came first. The fact that parents did sacrifice help some of the time suggests

however that they saw some kind of educational qualification, such as reading and writing, as an advantage.

That reading and writing were seen as an advantage is also reflected in a letter sent to the Commissioners for the Annexed Estates on behalf of Elizabeth King from Callander who wished to be trained as a midwife and hoped to get instruction in midwifery from Dr Young. Having commended her 'sobriety and good behaviour', those recommending her added, 'as she can both read and write they believe she is capable of being instructed'.²⁴ Certainly the merchant and tradesman class, even though in financial terms quite small, would see an advantage in some education for daughters, but this 'advantage' was more likely to have been in relation to their business rather than as some historians suggest, their marriage prospects.²⁵ Indeed some parents while anxious for their advantage would be all too aware of their lack of funds to procure it, which no doubt explains why teachers had problems in getting in their bills. The tardy payment of bills, however, may also have been related to the public attitude to teachers in this period, when they may have been seen as servants rather than masters. The details of payment in the MacDonald case show little 'Victorian' awe of the schoolmaster. Stirling had had to ask for payment at every possible opportunity:

'Received of the above [total bill] in Mr Watson's shop, 2s
'In Mr Gordon's, 6d
'from his wife in Mrs Mein's, 5s
'on the street, 3s
'More, 1s'.²⁶

Although there is evidence to suggest that some Edinburgh merchants and tradesmen did make an effort to send their daughters to

boarding and day schools run by women, it is more likely that they sent them directly to teachers like John Stirling who could give them a short course in reading and writing but where they did not need to become involved with girls who were much better off, such as in the boarding schools, where they might be embarrassed by their poorer circumstances. For example, Amelia Fenton, who later married her father's apprentice and worked with her husband in their confectionery business, was sent to Lawrence Leiman a dancing master who claimed that when she returned to his school having failed to attend a public ball she told him that she 'did not have cloaths fit for it'.²⁷ Some of the apprentices and servants discussed below may have attended teachers like John Stirling. It was also written into some indentures that the apprentice was to be allowed to attend a writing-master. Some girls may have attended the English schools. By the middle of the century the number of private teachers had increased and are found advertising their range of subjects in the newspapers. The advertisements show that girls as well as boys were provided for. Mr Dunsmuir who taught English to young gentlemen informed the public that he was now starting a class for young ladies; Mr Fulton, another teacher of English, announced that he was now teaching advanced as well as public classes for young ladies and gentlemen.²⁸ The tone of most of these advertisements may not suggest that they were aimed at servants such as May Moneylaws²⁹ who 'kept' the baxter's shop but one interesting advertisement by a teacher, James Browning, in the Edinburgh Advertiser in 1783 ran,

'James Browning begs leave to acquaint the public that he has just now removed to ... foot of Forrester's Wynd ... where he continues to teach English, Reading and Grammar, Writing, Arithmetic and Latin, at different times and on reasonable terms.

NB. James Browning has an hour's writing in the morning primarily intended for girls at businesses'.³⁰

The businesses referred to could only mean shopkeeping since there was no other occupation for girls at this period to which such a term could be applied. Certainly, only those who could afford the fees would have paid attention to the advertisement but if, as has been suggested by many historians, the better-off women and their daughters were removing themselves from the working world to whom was this advertisement addressed? James Browning is unlikely to have provided these classes if there had been no demand and suggests that even small merchants and tradesmen were prepared to pay for some education for their daughters if at all possible, especially if alternative education in the city was poor. That poorer parents had an interest in their children's education is reflected in two statements with regard to the free school and English schools, the latter being the cheapest of the fee-paying schools. The first was a statement made in 1767 by James Todd in connection with the magistrates' alleged disregard of the Free school:

'... it is a mistake to think that children of this school are only of the refuse of the people, for though a great many of their parents may be said to be in low life, yet they are in good repute and the children themselves are far from being street vagabonds...'.³¹

The second statement was made by masters of the English schools who petitioned the Town council to raise the fees in 1772. They alleged that the reason for the resignation of one of the Masters was

'the objection of all ranks above the very lowest class of the inhabitants against the above terms [low fees] as introductory of ill-dressed company into their schools'.

It was also maintained that as Charity Schools were set up at the same time as the English schools the latter were 'not intended for the meanest of the people, but for the benefit of the middle rank'.³¹

There is no doubt that interest in education in Edinburgh cannot be entirely divorced from the fact that the capital provided more job-opportunities for which some education was required, than rural areas or smaller towns. These jobs were available because the town attracted people who had money to spend and, as has already been pointed out, required services such as clothing, food and shelter. There is no doubt that all kinds of shopkeeping and other textile-related trades attracted many girls throughout the 18th century and it is probable that those who intended to enter this kind of work saw the ability to read and write as a necessity.

There were, of course, employments for girls that required skills but not necessarily non-practical education. In 1727 the Town Council made a contract with Christian Shaw of Bargarran to teach spinning to girls some of whom were to be drawn from the Merchant and Trades Maiden Hospitals.³² Ann Dusaville and Ann Fleming were paid to teach girls to spin 'after the Flemish fashion'. There was Ruffini's tambouring manufactory at Dalkeith which may have absorbed a number of Edinburgh girls. When he was interviewed as an 'Alien' in 1794 he stated that at the last count there were thought to be 25,000 girls in the country in this employment, but he did not state how many he employed at Dalkeith.³³ Young and Trotter, in the

1780s, advertised for 6 girls to be taught to 'work' carpets; a woman had been brought from England who was experienced in teaching girls this work. It is not known how much this kind of work increased towards the end of the century. The girls who were probably the most vulnerable in a search for jobs other than domestic service were those whose parents were on the poverty-line but who did not qualify for entry to the various charity institutions and who therefore had nobody to turn to for a reference. If one parent was left with a family of several children to rear they would be more concerned to get their sons than their daughters into Hospitals; the boys would have the opportunity there of securing an apprenticeship, whereas the girls could always be sent into service.

Petitions for charity also show that girls in poor circumstances had often to take responsibility for other members of the family. The widow of John Grant, for example, who had been left with 6 sons and 2 daughters explained when asking for help that she had to keep her eldest daughter 'out of place' to care for her as she herself was confined to bed. When Alexander Anderson, a chairman with 6 children was deserted by his wife he had to leave his 13-year old daughter in charge while he went to work to provide for them. Girls from these circumstances would have no choice but to go into domestic service and were most likely to have little or no formal education.³⁴

TRAINING AND THE NEED FOR SUBSISTENCE

As the capital, Edinburgh was the focus of the fashion world and was therefore seen as an important place to train. Elizabeth

Sinclair wrote from Thurso to her friend Bell Sinclair in Edinburgh with regard to the latter's sister Barbara who had already been with a mantuamaker in Thurso, asserting that if Barbara

'is to set out in the mantuamaking way she ought to be sent for a quarter of a year as a scholar to that Business as she or anybody Bred in the country cannot expect to be emploid in that way until they work a while in Edinburgh by way of perfecting them...'; adding advice to Bell herself who was with a mantuamaker, Miss Hamilton, in Edinburgh, 'I hope you are emproving your time with her and if possible you should learn millinery work Whether you get a place or come to Caithness that will be most necessary...'. Bell assured her, 'I see all the fashions and does part of everything'.³⁵

This desire for training in Edinburgh had already begun in the 17th century when girls had been coming to the city from different parts of the country for both education and training. The names of some of these girls turn up in the Poll Tax returns for Edinburgh in the 1690s: Anne Strachan lodged with Alexander Strachan a writer, possibly a relative, 'a young woman at schools no portion'; Janet McGill, a friend of the wife of Robert Veitch, merchant, 'in my house and learning at schools'. Elizabeth Cruikshanks, wife of Robert Grant writer, also taught pupils: 'Cecil Hume daughter of the late William Hume of Bassenrig, Helen Bannatyne, daughter of John Bannatyne merchant in Rosa, ... who are scholars of my said spouse and reside with my family for the present. But know not how long'.³⁶

Some of these girls were probably attending various teachers for writing, reading and arithmetic, dancing and music and were lodging or boarding with families in Edinburgh. But Elizabeth Cruikshanks' school was probably a sewing school similar to some of the sewing schools of the 18th century; Sarah White who married John

Abercrombie in 1686 is recorded in the Poll Tax as 'keeps a school in the Old Exchange'. It is significant that Elizabeth Cruikshanks as well as taking 'scholars' is said to have had 'apprentices'. These girls are recorded separately from the scholars: Marion, sister of Thomas Kennedy of Kirkhill, Euphame daughter of the late - Pringle of Craigend, Christian daughter of Francis Scott of Greenhill, Margaret daughter of the late William Ritchie, merchant in Aberdeen.³⁷ Such girls had probably been formally apprenticed, which would put them on a different footing from the scholars.

Although such sewing schools will be discussed below, it is necessary at this point to underline the fact that these sewing schools where girls were apprenticed were distinct from the 'finishing schools' often referred to by historians of 18th-century education. The first were in fact for those who were apprenticed as a means of earning a livelihood and, as records show, were used by relatives of unprovided upper-class girls for that purpose.

When dealing with the subject of girls and education writers have tended to concentrate on two categories, on the one hand, those who went to finishing schools and spent much of their time learning French and dancing, and, on the other hand, those who learned skills in domestic service or some similar work experience. For example, Earle writing of the education of girls in London says:

'... emphasis for middling girls was on acquiring social graces, domestic skills and perhaps a smattering of French. Girls of this class married quite young and most would probably still be living at home when they got married so that they were devoid of independent work experience and their knowledge of business would depend on how much responsibility or instruction they had been given by their parents. Girls of a rather lower class tended to leave home earlier and marry later. In the

meantime they would have work experience, but this was unlikely to be particularly relevant to business'.³⁸

On the same subject in the Scottish context R. A. Houston asserts that the subjects taught to upper and middle class girls '... notably French, were ornamental rather than practical in nature. Designed not to enhance personal adequacy or employment opportunities'.³⁹ While it is true that many upper and even middle class girls were being sent to school merely to learn the social graces, it is vitally important in relation to earning a living that such apprenticeship and training noted above should be taken into account. Girls were also apprenticed to mantuamaking, buttonmaking and shopkeeping. Those who could not afford an apprenticeship could go into a shop and simply learn on the job; these aspects of training will be discussed later.

Some writers of women's history have emphasised that girls learned a skill or a trade in order to prepare for married life:

'To suggest that learning some skill was part of the motive behind the apprenticeship of daughters is not to deny that for most daughters - and for their parents - marriage was the ultimate goal. It was. But this only underlines the point ... that for the lower classes wives were assumed to be women who worked. Learning the skills of a trade could enable a woman to make a greater contribution to her family's maintenance. "Many parents", it has been suggested, "regarded skill in a bride as a good form of dowry"... there was a desire for some form of useful training to equip a daughter for her future role as a working wife...'.⁴⁰

Only, it would appear, 'in the unhappy (and almost inconceivable) event of her remaining unmarried'⁴⁰ would training be seen as a way of enabling her to earn her own living. Another historian states that education

'... was only useful if it helped to make a good marriage, while for the lower classes the practical skills taught to girls would enable them to be productive partners in marriage'.⁴¹

While it cannot be denied that there is some truth in the assumption that learning a skill might enhance marriage prospects, at the same time evidence uncovered during this study suggests that subsistence was the first and most important reason for education and the learning of a skill of some kind. This is particularly clear in evidence with regard to girls who were related to the landed and professional classes. Cicely Murray, the daughter of an Edinburgh surgeon-apothecary and niece of William Murray of Polmaise in Stirlingshire, was apprenticed to a Stirling merchant. When she arrived back home in Edinburgh she found herself without employment and had to work for three sisters, the Misses Wilson, who were milliners. Her uncle, Adam Murray, a physician, was able to fix up a co-partnery for her with Janet Mushet, a shopkeeper and milliner in the Luckenbooths. Cicely's father had died by that time but his family were young and a letter written by Adam to his brother the laird of Polmaise expresses relief as well as pleasure at finding a means of subsistence for both his nephew and niece:

'Dear Brother,

John will give you a more particular account of the intended co-partnery for his sister Cicely with one Miss Mushet who has a shop in the Luckenbooths. Indeed the more I have searched into this project the more I like it... It really gladdens my heart to see a probability of two of that fatherless family getting into a way of business that they may not only afford bread to themselves, but in a little time open up a way for some of the rest'.⁴²

Such employment appears to have been accepted by society as an independent way of life for single women. When leaving for London

to buy merchandise in 1717 the then young milliner Janet Anderson wrote to her brother Patrick,

'... my father nou knows that I am goin bout he says
he wount give me eny asistans bott I most take my fat
[fate] in this uorld [world]'. 43

Jean Campbell and her sister, cousins of the Campbells of Barcaldine, were also in need of subsistence and in order to earn some money began to make some collars, probably of lace. Jean wrote to her cousin Barcaldine,

'I dare say you feel for us and must be exceedingly sensible of what a helpless situation women are in who have nothing of their own to depend on, be assured of our industry and frugality so that I trust in God you shall come by no loss in assisting us... having this one satisfaction of seeing us settled in a way so as to be independent of the world'. 44

When Helen Campbell was apprenticed on the death of her father, Robert Campbell of Borland, it was no doubt because of inadequate provision for her.⁴⁵ Such girls were themselves all too well aware of their vulnerability and dependence on relatives. When Bell Sinclair arrived back in Caithness very ill after a period of mantuamaking in Edinburgh, with no means of her own, she wrote to her uncle informing him that her cousins the Barrocks had refused to help her. Her uncle's reply suggests that the relatives of girls who were poorly provided for were often unwilling to help: '... have as little dependence on great folks as possible..., their language is "trouble me not"...', he wrote.⁴⁶ It also underlined the begging nature of their circumstances and explains why many upper and middle class girls in this kind of situation were willing to work for their living. Bessie Watson, niece of the Edinburgh merchant George Watson, was apprenticed by her uncle to a lacemaker in Dalkeith in

1694 and seems to have had a pretty miserable experience. In a letter to Watson, Bessie's mother informed him that Bessie had said she would not stay 10 days, 'but now to please you has stayed a twelve month and I hope she continue to the end of the time appointed by you...'.⁴⁷ Probably Bessie would not want to offend her uncle who had paid £20 Scots for her indenture.

There were also many ministers' daughters in poor financial circumstances who were put to apprenticeships or were able to set up in business for themselves with reasonable credit. Anne Liddle, Carola Young, Jean Williamson, Margaret Hepburn and Rachael Honeyman were all ministers' daughters who were employed in shopkeeping or mantuamaking. The families of Episcopal ministers who were put out of their charges in 1690 for refusing to take the oath to William and Mary were particularly hard hit financially. Not only the daughters but the wives of a number of these are found working to add to the family income.

As has been shown in Chapter One daughters also set up for themselves independently outwith their parents' own merchant business even although in some cases they might have been supported by them. Evidence suggests that 18th-century parents preferred their daughters to be financially independent if at all possible. Throughout the century, which began with the effects of the failure of the Darien scheme on the mercantile community, trade fluctuated. A merchant's business could fail and his family's situation alter drastically. If daughters had their own way of earning a living so much the better.

APPRENTICESHIP AND SPECIALIST SKILLS

Since there are no apprentice registers for girls in Scotland it is impossible to judge the scale of female apprenticeship. At the same time, the absence of registers may conceal the fact that many more girls may have been apprenticed than has previously been thought, for evidence of indentures turns up in a variety of sources. As will be seen from Appendix 3 the girls were mainly apprenticed in two ways, (1) to learn specialist skills such as lacemaking, embroidery, buttonmaking and mantuamaking, or (2) most commonly in the 18th century, to shopkeeping or 'merchandising', which of course included the making of articles of clothing for sale. Apart from buttonmaking and mantuamaking the specialist skills such as embroidery were taught in conjunction with general needlework, the latter normally being referred to in the indentures as 'white seam'. So far, 17 original indentures of female apprenticeship have been found, with evidence of 42 more apprenticeships, making 59 in all. The sources of these will be found in Appendix 3.

Sewing Schools

As has been underlined above, sewing schools where girls were apprenticed, such as the one run by Elizabeth Cruikshanks,⁴⁸ had begun in the 17th century. These apprentices were taught particular skills, not shopkeeping, which probably became common only by the 18th century. Even Jean Young, although apprenticed in the 1660s to Euphemia Nisbet the wife of George Glendinning an Edinburgh merchant, appears to have been taught particular sewing-skills, such as

fringing and buttonmaking, rather than shopkeeping and it is possible that Euphemia Nisbet ran a school similar to that of Elizabeth Cruikshanks. Jean Young is recorded in the Town Council Minutes as having been 'trained up be Eupham Nisbet ... to whom she was prentice in weiving of freinyeis making of buttons and sewing...'.⁴⁹ This kind of apprenticeship is found even earlier, in 1638, when Janet and Elspeth Eiston were apprenticed to Marion Campbell the wife of Robert Neilson, merchant, to learn lacemaking.⁵⁰ Although lacemaking does not appear to have had any extensive development in Scotland, as it had in England, such apprenticeships do suggest that it was taught, although probably on a small scale. Bessie Watson, who was apprenticed by her uncle in 1695 learned lacemaking from a Dalkeith woman and was still making lace in 1723. Janet Lawson, apprenticed to Mary Durie in 1668 was taught not only lacemaking but the making of 'men's bands, hair kells [cauls?], rolls of hair and knap laces'. Most of the indentures refer to textile skills, but Anna Liddle, a minister's daughter who was apprenticed to Elizabeth Dobson in 1686, also learned to make 'milkes, sweetmeats and pastry'. Barbara Henderson, the wife of a goldsmith, also taught stocking-working, Japanning, figuring and drawing of draughts', these being recorded in the indenture of Isobel Hunter who was apprenticed to her in 1695.

Isobel Hunter's indenture is the only one collected so far which mentions non-practical education: Barbara Henderson promised to 'learn her to write'. Isobel, whose father's occupation is not recorded, was not to be given any 'drudgery or housework'. However, the other girls whose indentures have come to light may have attended schools for reading, writing and other subjects. An 18th century

apprenticeship indenture, also evidence of this kind of sewing school, is that of Helen Campbell, daughter of Robert Campbell of Borland, who was apprenticed to Margaret Pollock the widow of a writer, John Duncan. Helen was to be taught coloured and white seam sewing, embroidery, satin seam, washing and dressing fine linen, wax work, gum flowers, philigrams and others in use to be done'. Just as the apprentices and boarders of Elizabeth Cruickshanks had been listed separately, Margaret Pollock also made a difference between the two. This is brought out in a separate document drawn up at the same time as the indenture:

'... notwithstanding Helen Campbell... has by indentures of this date has become bound apprentice to me for the space of four years... in my art and Employment therein mentioned... yet I hereby bind and oblige me by these presents to treat, aliment and maintain and always deport myself to the said Helen Campbell... in the same manner fashion and condition as I have been and am now in use to do to my boarders, excepting only furth hereof my decent and laughfull errands furth of my house anent which allanerly she is to be treated and behave as a prentice and this no way to derogate from any obligations upon me in the same indentures...'.51

This document shows that boarders and apprentices were quite different, suggesting that the latter were under their mistress's direction and did not have the freedom of the boarders.

Other specialist skills

It is very difficult for those living in the 20th century even to begin to imagine, how important all these sewing skills were in an age when sewing machines were non-existent but where clothing was in great demand. Perhaps the thousand needles recorded in John Bell's ledger as bought by one shopkeeper in the Exchange in the early 18th

century may give some indication of how important sewing really was. The ledger records not only needles, but fabric bought in large amounts: $92\frac{1}{2}$ yards of printed linen, $89\frac{1}{4}$ yards of blue and white linen, $166\frac{1}{4}$ yards of stamped linen, $101\frac{3}{4}$ yards of linen, $190\frac{1}{2}$ yards of printed linen are all recorded, while between June 1721 and September of the same year Marion English bought 331 yards of stamped linen. It should be noted that these quantities were bought by small shopkeepers. As well as linen there were the finer fabrics such as muslin, lawn, gauze and cambric, and trimmings of lace, silk, satin and gold fringing. All these fabrics required skilful handling and care and it is not surprising that in the sewing schools and shops 'washing and dressing' were always included in training, for such a service was constantly in demand.

Washing and dressing, therefore, was an important part of making and selling merchandise. The 18th century 'heads' such as caps and mobs were washed and starched after making up. Customers also sent back such headwear and 'suits' of lace to be re-dressed by the milliners and shopkeepers. The importance of washing and dressing was such that some girls were prepared to learn it as a trade in itself, even women from the professional and landed classes being found in this employment. In one of her accounts, in 1744, the milliner Janet Anderson charged for 'Stearching and making a double Mob' and 'Stearching and making a pair Laced single Ruffle and handkerchief'.

In 1718 Mary Adie the widow of a writer, Alexander Campbell of Anachan, made an agreement with Ann Craig to teach the latter 'washing and dressing linens' and later took Ann to court for

allegedly deserting her service. In her defence, however, Ann asserted that,

'it had been specially agreed that the deponent [Ann] was not to bring in water to the house nor was she to go to the water to wash but was to serve ... within doors'. ... 'it was expressly agreed that she was to pay the deponent seven pounds and shoes and was to be taught by the pursuer the art of washing linnen head-suits and men's clothes and that the deponent was not taught to dress... the linen that came into the house'. 52

It was also alleged that she had left her service because Mary Adie had called her a thief in front of the neighbours and had accused her of stealing a head-suit. Women like Mary Adie may well have done the dressing and used the servants to do the drudgery. Another girl accused by her mistress of stealing had advanced 2 shillings sterling to be taught washing and dressing. Ann Dobie, the wife of an Episcopal minister, David Freebairn, appears to have done a large amount of washing and dressing in addition to making graveclothes; she probably took in girls to assist her.⁵³ Women like these would be more specialist than the customary washerwomen who washed for Edinburgh families and it would be to the specialist end of the washing service that girls were apprenticed.

Other individual skills to which girls have been found apprenticed are buttonmaking and mantuamaking. Three girls were found apprenticed to buttonmakers: Anne Ged, daughter of a Burntisland merchant, to Anne Brown, the daughter of a writer (1702); Anne Simpson, daughter of the Deacon of the South Leith tailors, to James Swan, buttonmaker and merchant burgess (1728) and Agnes Wylie,

'one of the weekly pensioners of the Old Greyfriars session', to Jean Cumming, wife of Peter Sands, cordiner (1734). Anne Simpson, however, was said to be apprenticed to James Swan in 'his art and employment of Buttonmaking, merchandising and shopkeeping'. Her father was to supply her clothes, James Swan her board and washing. It is not known how many buttonmakers earned a living in Edinburgh at that time but those who, like James Swan, had shops probably sold wholesale as well as retail; the items would, of course, be sewn buttons. The buttonmakers Anne Brown and Jean Cumming probably sold to Edinburgh shopkeepers.⁵⁴

The mantuamaker who by the end of the 18th century had become the dressmaker, first appeared at the end of the 17th century. Until that time tailors had been responsible for making women's clothes but with the advent of the mantua which was a simple garment women took over, although accounts show that at least some tailors continued to make women's clothes for some time after this and made women's riding clothes until the end of the century.⁵⁵ An early reference to the making of mantuas by women, occurs in the Edinburgh Town Council Minutes when in 1692 Jean Montgomerie applied to the Council for a licence. She was said to have educated herself both 'at home and abroad' in the art of Japanning and making 'new dresses'. The latter may have been the new mantuas. Girls were apprenticed to mantuamakers throughout the 18th century, girls from the upper and middle classes being found in this employment. Only one original indenture has so far come to light and it contains no information as to what the apprentice was to be taught, only that the mantuamaker was to 'teach learn and instruct' her apprentice 'in the

Parts and Practiques of the... Business and Trade of Mantuamaking...'.⁵⁶ From the available evidence it would appear that in Edinburgh on the whole, mantuamaking was taught by an individual mantuamaker, although no doubt different kinds of sewing skills would be learned at the same time, especially later in the century when dresses were very much decorated with trimmings.

Mantuamakers' apprentices sometimes stayed on to become journeywomen which could mean a bleak future if a girl could not afford to set up on her own account. Some apprentices would go to another mantuamaker to 'improve' and gain further experience. Betty Scott, for example, had worked for a tailor George Wright before she went to the mantuamaker Miss Wemyss. Bell Sinclair, already mentioned, could write to her friend in Thurso, 'I have a very good mistress but it is not a very profitable way for me as I only get my meat for my work'.⁵⁷ At busy times, such as the winter season when work was demanding, living in, which was common in mantuamaking, must have been a great disadvantage since sewing could go on late into the evening.

Apprenticeship and shopkeeping

In the 18th century the most common type of apprenticeship for girls was apprenticeship to shopkeeping. Here the apprentice not only learned to make clothing but also the art of shopkeeping itself. The fact that a good apprenticeship was seen as an advantage is reflected in shopkeepers' advertisements where they enhanced their reputations by informing the public as to who had trained them. For example, Mrs Bowie, like Miss English, had been trained by the Misses Young.⁵⁸

In 1725 Margaret Masterton, a tanner's daughter, was apprenticed to a shopkeeper Janet Justice who had her shop in the Exchange. Janet bound herself to.

'Instruct the said Margaret hir said apprentice in hir trade and employment of shoepkeeping and merchandising and in shewing of all seams and needle work that are ordinary and customary to be made and shewed in the exchange'.

Margaret for her part promised to be a

'true faithful and honest servant and apprentice to her said mistress in diligently and faithfully minding on her said Chop in the Exchange and in shewing all such needlework as she shall happen to be employed in or capable of and all other things...'.

Elizabeth Tindale, a glassgrinder's daughter, was apprenticed in 1750 to a shopkeeper Anne Mitchell 'in her trade and calling of merchandising' and in 1765 another merchant's daughter, Katherine Graham, was apprenticed to a milliner Rachael Strachan 'in her art of millinery and Business of Merchandizing'.

As has been noted above, other merchants' daughters learned their trade at home. Ann Gellately, Margaret Kirkland and Margaret Cowan all worked in their fathers' shops, while Margaret Cumming and Mary Napier learned to sell in the shops of their brothers.⁵⁹ Jean Williamson, a shopkeeper and daughter of David Williamson who was minister of St Cuthbert's at the beginning of the century, no doubt learned sewing skills from her mother who was an embroiderer, made clothes and kept a school for girls in the first half of the century. Elizabeth Rattray and Dorothea Hutchison had learned to make graveclothes from their mothers; since Rachael had grown up in the home of a surgeon this is not surprising.⁶⁰ Many girls with no merchant family background simply learned and gained experience on

the job. This is borne out by the many depositions of servants to both male and female shopkeepers in the records of the Commissary Court.

With regard to experience it has to be remembered, that until late in the 18th century when emporiums and larger shops were established in the New Town of Edinburgh the shops were small and had few servants and it is possible that such servants in the smaller shops were more in touch with the day to day running of the business. Several servants discussed below were designated as 'shopkeeper to' or as 'keeping the cedent's [creditor's] shop'. The deposition in 1794 by one of these, a servant to Robert Gourlay, an Edinburgh merchant who had died suddenly bears this out. The deponent, Amelia Faichney, was said to be

'twenty years, not married... Depones that she was employed by Mr Gourlay as one of his shopkeepers and served him in that capacity for about ten years. That she was always alone in the shop with Mr Gourlay betwix the hours of two and three, the rest of the people being then at dinner. That on these occasions he used to talk of the falling off of business and the loss of his customers. That it consists with the deponent's knowledge that his retail trade was as flourishing as it ever had been... Depones that the books and correspondence relative to the affairs of the shop were open to the inspection of the deponent and the Deponent... had occasion to know that none of Mr Gourlay's correspondence were then pressing him for payments. That the deponent occasionally looked into the books by turning over a leaf or two when they were lying open but did so very seldom. That she knew of all the bills that were granted or accepted or paid by Mr Gourlay in the way of his business... And being interrogated how she came to know of all the bills that were granted, accepted or paid by Mr Gourlay Depones that Mr Gourlay always informed her of such transactions and that she generally if not always saw every bill that came into the shop for acceptance or payment..'.

That Amelia Faichney was aware of the details of the daily running of a shop is revealed in another part of her deposition, where, being further interrogated she asserted that

'... she saw all the invoices of goods which came to Mr Gourlay. That she knew the prime cost of every article, assisted Mr Gourlay in fixing the retail prices and was perfectly acquainted with the rate of the profits'. 61

The only other servants mentioned in the Gourlay case were his clerk and male apprentice.

Girls who worked for those in provision shops were no different from those in textiles. In her deposition Ann Gray, who was over 30 and served the shopkeepers Christian and Margaret Stirling in the 1770s, stated that she kept a waste book in which she marked down the articles [tea, wine, etc.] sold by the cedents to their customers and having looked over the account 'depones she marked most of the articles therein contained in the waste book'. The deposition of a baxter's servant, Mary Moneylaws, in 1753, also shows her involvement in the running of the shop side of Gavin Waugh's baxter's business. The name of the debtor in this case was Forbes;

'Mary Moneylaws, servant to the cedent, Gavin Waugh, aged 19, not married... knows that furnishing was commonly 2 sixpence loaves each week which the deponent regularly delivered to William Dick and others of Mr Waugh his master's lads to carry to the Forbes house and they reporting that they delivered them were afterwards set down in the cedent's books Depones at that time and now keeps the cedent's shop and delivers out all the bread..'. 62

Many of the girls discussed in this Chapter were under 20 years of age, and it is apparent from the length of their employment that most of them had been around 11 years old when they became apprentices or servants. By the time they had reached 15 years of

age therefore they had had quite a lot of responsibility. Because of the early age at which girls started work it is not unusual for those designated milliners or mantuamakers to have set up for themselves around the age of 20.

'Apprentice' as a designation did not always refer to a girl who had been formally apprenticed and had paid a fee. Shopkeepers sometimes advertised for 'apprentices'. These girls would be day-apprentices who went in to learn shopkeeping very much as a girl went into a shop in the present century as a junior shop assistant and expected to learn about the retail trade by serving in the various departments of a department store. This was probably the way in which Amelia Faichney had done her training.

By the second half of the century advertisements show that boarding school mistresses were also taking apprentices. In the Edinburgh Courant in 1752, for example, Miss Wightman informed the public that she intended to 'educate 6 young girls yearly who are come of honest parents whose circumstances cannot afford education, instructing them in all manner of works abovementioned, they always allowing their work for instruction'.⁶³ This type of instruction may have increased in the second half of the century and may well have been an early example of 'sweating' associated with the needlework trades. On the other hand these schools may have provided an opportunity for some girls to learn sewing skills, although it is unlikely to have brought much financial independence if they were unable to set up for themselves afterwards.

In 1764 when George Ellis wanted someone to teach his children sewing at home he wrote to an Edinburgh merchant Arthur Millar to ask

if Millar's wife could look out for a girl for the purpose. At the end of the letter he emphasised that he would not

'chuse to have one of your printice girls from publick schools or Hospital girls, They are giddy and have nether solidity prudence or method'. 64

He was obviously referring to girls from the Merchant and Trades Maiden Hospitals and those who had been educated at schools such as those of Miss Wightman. Such comments underline the contrast that must have existed between the girls described by Ellis and those girls with experience of shops such as Anne Faichney and Mary Moneylaws who had acquired a good deal of experience and independence by the time they were twenty.

INDEPENDENCE

Evidence in records shows that the skills discussed above were used by many women to obtain employment and consequently subsistence and independence. From Appendices 2 and 4 it can be seen just how important merchandising was to women throughout the 18th century, to both single and married women. Jean Young mentioned above, who had been taught weaving of fringes, buttonmaking and sewing, was in 1660 at

'her awen hand in a chope working such handieworke and making sale thereof and of nothing els for her livelihood paying of her chope mail and proportiounis of assessment...'.

Since she is designated 'indweller' it is impossible to discover her social background but as she had no burgess rights she may have come to live in the city from elsewhere. The Council granted her a licence to trade. Katherine Reid who in 1720 was apprenticed to

Janet Gray for 2 years, later set up as a shopkeeper and she in turn took an apprentice, Elizabeth Brodie, in 1728. Lillias Campbell, Annabella Aird, Margaret Ross and Margaret Masterton, all of whom had been apprenticed to shopkeeping in the first quarter of the century, later set up for themselves as shopkeepers. Margaret Masterton later married a stabler but continued to operate her own business.⁶⁵

It is clear that some girls recognised subsistence and independence as two sides of the same coin. Ann Buchanan, a cousin of Cicely Murray who was in partnership with Janet Muschet and, like Cicely, a niece of William Murray of Polmaise, appears to have found the idea of independence in Edinburgh attractive, for she wrote to Janet asking the latter to take her into copartnery. That the idea came from herself can be gathered from the enthusiastic letter which she wrote to Janet from Polmaise in 1758:

'Dear Jannie,
 I am glad business is going on well with you...
 my most sincere thanks for your ready Agreeing in taking
 me in partners with you and your beloved Spouse [Cicely
 Murray]; O how happy will I be with you both... Mama
 and Grandpapa is very well pleased with the proposal and
 is willing to give as much Credit as needed;... they
 were told att home that it was Lady Polmaise that first
 made the proposal of taking me in with you; So incase they
 be writing any thing of it to Cicy Dont say Anything that
 it was myself, I long for the time when I shall Be with
 you:....'.

No doubt, having heard that Cicely was in business with Janet Muschet in Edinburgh, Ann liked the idea herself and had decided to go ahead on her own. For girls like Ann Buchanan, from a landed background but with no actual role, life might be extremely tedious. Another girl in similar circumstances had travelled to Edinburgh to try to become apprenticed to a mantuamaker but her brother, Alexander Ross,

Sheriff Clerk of Ross, objected in a letter to John Grant, W.S., in Edinburgh:

'... a sister of mine came to her (John Grant's wife) with a letter from Mrs Cuthbert and told her she came there in order to be bound apprentice to a milliner. I own I was very much surprised for I never had any Intention of sending her to Edinburgh. I beg you do me the favour as to send for John Cowie ... and give him 20/- sterling and let him carrie her home directly and by no means give her any encouragement... by no means advance her one farthing but send her home... I need hardly say that my sister has had the worst examples of life with Mrs Cuthbert and I am heartily sorry she seems strongly inclined to follow them...'

The fact that Ann Buchanan later objected to Janet Muschet treating her like a servant shows that she had seen herself as an independent woman setting up in business with a partner.

'I am extremely sorry', she wrote to her uncle Dr Adam Murray, 'to give you the trouble of this as I know it will be very disagreeable to you. But sure if you had known the Way I had been in since I came to Town and the Reflection and Work Miss Muschet is pleased to make You wou'd not blame me SO Much as perhaps you now doe... But I fancy she imagined when I came that I was to run and serve her... even to the making ready her meat and putting on her fire in the morning. ... she behaves to me as I were far below her and that I should not go out of the door without asking her leave... But I fancy Miss thought she was to Sit as a fine Lady and do nothing but direct'. 67

Another example of a woman wishing to be independent is that of Annie Guild who decided to leave domestic service and set up for herself as a shopkeeper in the 1760s. Annie may well have been one of those women who were seen by the magistrates as having become 'wearied of their service and taken up little shops'. She, however, even if she had 'wearied of her service' did have a right to trade through her father who had been, as far as can be ascertained, an

Edinburgh merchant; she may have had some experience of shopkeeping at home. The court process regarding her came from the Edinburgh Commissary Court and is part of the 'Register House series' of legal papers in the Scottish Record Office.⁶⁸ Although incomplete, consisting of letters between Annie and a teacher, David Valentine, this process gives some idea of how Annie set up her shop and an indication of the problems such women were willing to face in starting out on their own.

Annie Guild had been a servant, in an unknown capacity, to Lady Henderson of Otterston in Fife. David Valentine, with whom she had been on intimate terms, had been at Otterston during the period of her service and remained there as tutor to the Henderson children for part of the time of the exchange of letters; he later returned to Montrose where he belonged. They may have been secretly married and the case may have been one of adherence but the partial nature of the surviving papers makes it difficult to tell. Annie's age is not known but since she had been the Hendersons' servant for some time and was old enough to have a married niece (whose husband was Governor Graham, factor to the Hudson's Bay Company), she may have been around 30 years of age.

From the letters it is clear that it took some time to find a suitable shop. One she hesitated over did not appeal to David Valentine;

'What you say of Mrs Darling's shop is so very little and looks so much like a stall in the side of the street that I don't like its appearance', he wrote, adding, however, 'but then the convenience you describe along with it is better than the other shop'.

In the end she took it. Valentine wrote from Otterston, saying that he was glad she had taken it, later adding advice about attracting customers. 'There is a certain behaviour', he wrote, 'if one could hit upon it that never fails to attract people'. The shop she had rented was in need of repair and painting and he begged her, 'get your window fitted up whether Blackie does it or not without delay William Ged will sand and wax it as you desire...', and again, 'let me know if your window is in and your lum swept, etc., etc...'. When Annie asked his advice about which colour she ought to paint it, however, he advised, 'I am not really a judge of colour but I think a blue or red would be the best', adding, 'I hope you are not to be the expence of the colour'. Since keeping a clerk was costly Annie evidently decided to attempt this part of the business herself, possibly thinking that David Valentine might help her in this. 'I am glad to hear you are going to be your own clerk', he wrote, 'although I imagine you would not be the worse were I at your lug to help you to spell a little better'. However, he assured her that if ever she had calculations to do regarding prices she should let him know.

It is not clear whether there was furniture in the shop when she rented it but there were drawers for some of the stock, for David offered to do the 'signatures' (labels) for the 'shuttles' (drawers). She seems to have been selling mainly groceries, and he asked her, 'have you got your weights stamped yet? I hope you was not one of those who was fined short weights?' Groceries could be more difficult to cope with than textiles in that buying wholesale was probably more of a problem, since the goods came in bulk. For

example, Valentine told Annie of some acquaintances of his who had had a cargo of Bohea tea taken from them by the Customs officials. He assured her, however, that they had bought it back and she could have some if she could get some of her friends to share with her. Buying commodities in such quantities must have required considerable organisation. Having noticed in a newspaper advertisement that some canvas bags marked 'A.G.' had been 'brought out of the last London ships to Archibald Gilchrist's warehouse', Valentine wrote to say that he thought they might have been Annie's. On another occasion he got some beans for her. His care in wrapping them illustrates the problem of keeping merchandise in a good saleable state: 'I got a note from the chapman on Sunday evening about the Beans... they are... put up in four parcels and a woolen codwear (pillowcase) about the whole...'.

The content of some of the letters give some picture of the problems that had to be faced when buying from a distance and also the problem of getting bills paid;

'You have sent a good sum to London I wonder how you have got it scraped together... Im glad you ... managed so well wt the Sugar House is all your London soap done yet? When did you get goods from London last and what kinds? do you still deal with Veitch? are you and Mrs Hunter clear Has Wallace paid you all and your other bad debts? Will you recover anything from Philip?'

Annie Guild's shop like many others of the period, and indeed until this century, stocked a variety of goods. For example, she decided to sell ink, which she intended to make herself. However, Valentine advised her, 'Besides getting the Receipt [recipe] for the ink, I think it necessary to try making it in Mrs Darling's presence because the making of it wrong once might put the customers by...'.

There was a limit, however, to what might be sold in the shop and on one occasion when he sent her some old shoes he thought she should not sell them in the shop; 'as to the old shoes - I have sent you 4 pairs I suppose it wouldn't be a bad scheme to keep and wear them in the shop for if anyone chanced to see you selling old shoes they would much to the dishonour of the shop and take it for a cobbler's stall'. In spite of all this advice, however, he obviously expected her to get on with it for herself. In one letter he asserted, 'I am quite unacquainted with your business and cannot pretend to give you directions'. Indeed, when Annie who must have been particularly annoyed with him at one point complained metaphorically she 'didn't have the breeks', he replied immediately, '... as to your declaration that you do not yet wear the breeks, I do not believe you, I think you already wear them as you command and domineer even at the distance of fifty miles'. How long Annie Guild continued to run her grocery shop is not known but the information does throw some light on the problems women might encounter in trying to establish a business.

Not all women set up on their own, however, as has been already noted. Partnerships were common. If these worked the shared effort and responsibilities of running a business may have helped. Those partnerships made up of family members or close friends probably worked best - for others partnership could be a disaster. In 1760 Mary Carnegie complained in the burgh court that a milliner, Isobel Spring, had contracted to enter with her

'... into the business of Milliners in Company. And for that purpose the pursuer took a shop in the Lawn-market from Mart to Whit from Thomas Hedderwick, baxter in Edinburgh, at £2 sterling... and Isobel Spring now refuses to enter the said partnership although frequently required to do so'.

Isobel Spring alleged, however, that she had never agreed to enter the partnership nor had she asked Mary Carnegie to take the shop. The outcome of this case is not known but since there appears to have been no formal legal agreement it is doubtful if Mary Carnegie would get any satisfaction. Elizabeth Knox and Isobel Stark on the other hand drew up a formal agreement when they set up their millinery business in 1797. They each put £400 into the business but appear to have disagreed about how it should be run and their partnership was dissolved.⁶⁹

Nevertheless many partnerships appear to have thrived. No doubt dependence on each other and on the business for subsistence helped to cement such partnerships over the years. The arrangement halved the cost of rent, servants and other outlays connected with setting up and maintaining a shop. Relatives especially would also live together and share expenses such as house rent, coal, candle and so on. Of the 91 partnerships that came to light the majority were sisters or other relatives. These may not all have been formal agreements contained in legal documents, it is impossible to tell how many of them were, but the number suggests that, unlike Defoe, many women saw a partnership as a help in the world of survival.

Mantuumakers, too, are found in Company, but not so commonly as shopkeepers. The outlays of mantuumakers must have differed from those of women who made accessories in the shops, in that in the

former case bills suggest that the customer often brought the fabric to be made up by the mantuamaker, who therefore did not bear the cost of the fabric. Occasionally there are fabric charges on the bills for hoods and cloaks but on the whole the mantuamaker had only to buy such extras as pins, buttons, ribbons and perhaps linings for some kind of stiffening, depending on fashion. In Edinburgh by the end of the century the combination of milliner and dressmaker was becoming more common.

The fact that even the women who owned these businesses were involved in every aspect of them meant that they were every bit as much a part of the workaday world as less well-off men and women. In Edinburgh where many houses and shops were joined and the work of the two was interrelated the women may have been less sophisticated than their counterparts in the Victorian period. This is reflected in another letter from Ann Buchanan to her uncle Adam after she and Janet Muschet had quarrelled:

'... I offered to take the shop week about and the house which I did accordingly. She could find no objections to my week. She ... crys that she has everything to do both in house and shop but it can easily be seen by the Books how much she has done which I dont think is a great deal and put it altogether and I cant think but I have bore my share of it as well as her. When I go out the moment I come in theres nothing but Weeps how little sewed, and that its not in her power to get Sewing or else she would let another thing be seen of it. I shall only say if the business depends upon her Sewing or Mine either it wont be worth much'. 70

Nevertheless, these partnerships probably provided for the single woman at least some kind of family life outside the family home. Anne Wardrope who was apprenticed to the milliner Christian Learmonth in the 1750s, continued with her and put £30 into the

business, being allowed to make accessories for her own friends and acquaintances. Besides Anne Wardrope, Charlotte Gordon, sister of the Duke of Gordon, boarded with Christian Learmonth, also putting money into the business. Agnes English, who ran her millinery business for many years, took her niece Miss Cadell and a friend Miss Brodie in with her. When Agnes gave up her business for health reasons in 1784 she informed her customers in a newspaper advertisement that she intended to 'devolve the business on her niece Miss Cadell and Miss Brodie who has been for several years with her and is well known to the customers ... She means still to reside with her young friends to lend on occasions her best advice and give them every assistance in her power.... The business will be henceforth carried on under the firm of "Brodie and Cadell"'.⁷¹ Even Ann Buchanan after her quarrel with Janet decided to return. She may have found the prospect more bearable than living a weary existence in her cousins' house at Polmaise.

The objection to single women living 'in family' by themselves had weakened by the 18th century. Even as early as 1718 Janet Anderson could tell her brother Patrick that her friends were encouraging her to take a house and she agreed with them that 'living in family' [i.e. at home] could have its disadvantages. Unfortunately she did not spell out what those disadvantages were as she saw them, but as her own home was full of noisy undisciplined children (Janet was the oldest) she may have felt that she would be able to work and manage her affairs better on her own.

Records such as the stent and annuity tax rolls, testaments, sequestrations and newspaper advertisements all show that many single

women lived on their own or, as in the case of many shopkeepers and mantuamakers, with a business partner. It has also to be remembered that in Edinburgh for most of the century many of the houses and shops were joined so that 'home' and public life were not strongly demarcated. This also applies to mantuamakers who during most of the century ran their businesses from their houses. In 1783 'H. Vair, mantuamaker' advertised that she had just 'set up the branch of mantuamaking' and asked that any wishing her services should direct to her house in Aitken's Land 'first door on the stair, foot of Niddry's Wynd', adding, 'NB the name on the door'. In 1799 Elizabeth Campbell mantuamaker advertised her 'newest patterns from London' which could be seen at her house in Warriston's Close, and Miss Euphemia Elphinston, in 1764, intimated that she and her partner carried on business at their house and that customers could be suited without having a fitting.⁷² Mantuamakers would probably have an apprentice or journeywoman, or both, depending on their financial standing.

The status of women in business depended more on the status of their customers than on the size of the business itself. Serving the aristocracy, gentry and professionals was likely to enhance the reputation of a business. So that although the businesses were not large, indeed most of them were quite small, this did not necessarily affect their standing in the trading community.

There is no doubt, therefore, that girls with no such connections would see an advantage in training with women who had, and would use their employers' names to recommend themselves to customers. It is also possible that apart from the question of

livelihood some shop servants saw a possibility of social advancement. In the Gourlay case discussed above the shop-owner Robert Gourlay's clerk when questioned stated that his employer 'became jealous on account of the money which Miss Faichney was drawing on her own account and seemed to wonder what she could intend doing with it'.⁷³ It is not clear from this statement what is meant by Amelia Faichney's 'drawing on her own account'. Gourlay himself had lost money lodged with the bankers Bertram and Gardner when they failed in the 1790s. Had Amelia Faichney been able to save money in another bank? This seems unlikely for a girl of 20 employed as a shop-assistant, yet it is difficult to see what other meaning 'drawing on her own account' could have. The problem is, of course, that since Amelia Faichney's social background is not known it is impossible to judge whether she could have had other financial resources apart from the shop; yet if she had, it is unlikely that she would have been serving the haberdasher John Gourlay as a shop-assistant. There is no doubt that women and girls employed by owners of shops and other businesses connected with the textile trades were very poorly paid but they may have fared better in the smaller establishments of the 18th century than in the expanding shops of the 19th century when methods of retailing changed.

Towards the end of the century many women retired from their shops and set up as 'schools', bringing in teachers to take charge of the academic side of the teaching business. Some newspaper advertisements suggest that although these women had given up their shops they had by no means given up their businesses and therefore, as has been noted earlier, it is perhaps not surprising that they

advertised for day pupils not only in order to teach them skills but quite clearly with the intention of using them to help with their own commissions.

There was Mrs Greenlees who advertised in the Caledonian Mercury in 1753 informing the public that as well as having accommodation for young boarders, 'for the encouragement of such as will send their girls to her she proposes to teach them to mend and join Brussels lace and all other kinds of laces'. However, she also assured the public that she also took in laces to be mended or joined 'in the neatest way and upon the easiest terms'. Mrs Johnston, who also boarded girls in the 1750s, taught embroidery, 'true Dresden work as done in nunneries abroad' and washing and dressing cambrics 'after the millinery way'. All her 'scholars either qualifying or perfecting' were taught these skills. In 1751 Mrs McKellar opened a school for teaching similar needle subjects, stating that she would not exceed 20 scholars as she intended teaching them all herself. She also took in 'sewing from any person that cares to employ her' and she intended 'taking two or three apprentices to teach gratis providing they can find sufficient security'. In the 1760s Mrs Scott and her daughters boarded girls but also took in 'all sorts of millinery work, drawing for sewing and gauzes and cambrics to be washed and dressed'. Perhaps the most significant advertisement was that of Angel and Wilhelmina Wightman, referred to above, who called themselves 'the Swedish Miss Wightmans', probably because they had been born in Stockholm where their father had been a merchant. One of the sisters advertised in 1751. She had a lodging in Bailie Fyfe's Close where she could board 14 'young ladies'. She too

taught various needle subjects, washing, dressing and even weaving of watch and cane strings, straps for ladies' jumps and silk fringes for ladies' cloaks and capuchins. Her intimation to the public that she intended 'to educate 6 young girls yearly who are come of honest parents whose circumstances cannot afford education ... to instruct them in all manner of works above mentioned they always allowing their work for their instruction...' shows that she intended to use them for her own advantage.

It is quite clear from these advertisements that such women were selling as well as teaching and these establishments may well have been, as has been suggested, 'sweat-shops' on a small scale. For the single women operating these businesses, however, boarding, teaching and selling could add to their subsistence. As they got older they may have found it more congenial to operate in the privacy of their own homes than in the more harassing life of organising a shop.

It is possible that the boarding-school business run by these women as described above may have gradually disappeared in the 19th century. Evidence suggests that by the end of the 18th century some of the landed classes and professionals preferred a governess, which meant that the girls could be taught at home. Women themselves may have turned to employment as governesses in preference to running schools or assisting in them. One schoolmistress, Betty MacPherson a relative of MacPherson of Cluny, told a friend in 1789 that an assistant who had been with her for 6 years had left, preferring the life of a private governess to a school. It is possible that women from circumstances similar to those of Anne Strachan, Cicely Murray,

Carola Young and Janet Anderson might in the 19th century have become governesses rather than shopkeepers. Even those parents of girls from landed classes who still preferred a boarding school were by the end of the 18th century looking towards England as the place to have their daughters educated. In 1810 William Drummond recommended a school in London for 'Mrs Captain Drummond's daughter'. He informed Mrs Drummond that there had been 'many young ladies from Scotland at this school, Lady Annandale's daughters, Mrs Graham of Fintry, Castle Douglas's sister who will be able to give you further information...'. The fees for this school, in Great Cumberland Street, were 200 guineas a year, 'if washing, the use of carriages and wine' were included the cost was 250 guineas.⁷⁴ This was an enormous contrast to the fees in Edinburgh, the highest of which were about £22 a year in the 1780s. Such fees could certainly only be paid by the richest landed families. For those of the upper classes who could not afford such fees the answer was probably a governess rather than a boarding school, at least by the 19th century. If the kind of schools discussed above, provided by the milliners, did continue to exist in the 19th century they are most likely to have supplied education, in whatever form, for the middle class.

CONCLUSION

In the evidence relating to Edinburgh for the period under discussion, there is little to suggest that there was any objection to single women not only working, but living, outside the family

home. To be able to do so it appears to have been recognised that girls required some basic education and to learn a skill of some kind so that they could either set up for themselves if they could afford it or, like Amelia Faichney, with some reading, writing and arithmetic get the opportunity to learn on the job by working for someone else.

It has been shown that historians of women's history have been too quick to write off sewing and related skills either as 'feminine occupations' or merely extensions of domestic skills. If this had indeed been the case many of the girls and women especially from landed and professional backgrounds could have learned at home. But this was not the case. Indeed, the most interesting aspect of single women and work in Edinburgh is the participation of girls and women from these backgrounds in the world of work.

As has also been shown, girls of this kind who were poorly provided for were apprenticed even in the 17th century, a feature which was carried on into the 18th, lasting for most of that century. Even the finishing type of schools should not be too quickly dismissed. Some women who attended these schools when young may well have made use of their training to set up in an independent way. For example, a schoolteacher said that she had been at one of 'the first schools in Edinburgh'. There is also evidence of women being involved in the baking trade who may well have learned their skills at the pastry schools of the 18th century. For example there is a reference in a burgh court process to an unnamed 'gentlewoman who keeps the bakehouse', and a bill for baking pies and tarts and other provisions amounting to £102-1-4d supplied by Helen Gray, a writer's

wife, in 1696.

What must be underlined is that all these skills had to be learned. An interesting oral history study of women's work in the early 20th century was recently carried out in Stirling. In it, a significant statement is made by one of the historians who interviewed the women: 'What is striking is the extent to which respondents perceived retailing as a skilled job. A lengthy apprenticeship had to be served involving progression from unskilled to skilled work'.⁷⁵ What is significant is the use of the word 'perceived'; retailing as an employment was not 'perceived' as a skilled job, it was a skilled job. The writer also comments that 'women respondents perceive skills which the historian tends, implicitly, to downgrade because of external and historical views of occupational status'.⁷⁶ But this latter conclusion is only partly true.

The generalisations about, and dismissal of, such women's employments as 'feminine' or 'extensions of domestic tasks' arise from the fact that most historians of women's history are academics who have never themselves been involved in work of any practical nature. For example, in a similar context Hamish Fraser says of tailoring that it 'was not a trade that required a great deal of skill'.⁷⁷ Such a generalisation could only be made by someone who has never had cloth in front of him, a pair of scissors in his hand and a human body to fit. In fact, the whole skill of tailoring lies in the cutting of the garment and no craftsman could hope to master this without skill and experience, otherwise he could end up like poor 'Bassie' who 'could not shew or do anything' and was dismissed

by a tailor, who would 'not have anything to do with such a fool'.

Until greater trouble is taken to understand what women's work actually entailed discussion surrounding women's experience of work is likely to be abortive. Gerda Larner, writing about this aspect of women's history, says, '[Historians] have ... begun to ask about actual experience of women in the past. This leads one to the use of women's letters, diaries, autobiographies and oral history sources...'.⁷⁸ However, any pre-19th century study of women's experience has not only to take account of what women's work entailed but also of the effect it had on the women's lives. The experience of Janet Anderson in 1718 of going about London on her own attending to her business, travelling hundreds of miles back home, and nearly losing her life when taking a cargo of goods by sea, must have led to an independence of mind as well as life, in a way that the limited circumstances of a governess in the following century could not have done. And Janet Anderson's experience was not unique, for many women throughout the 18th century travelled to London in order to run their businesses.

Bridget Hill has claimed that it is difficult to write about both 'women and ladies' while Olwen Hufton asks 'What is there about middle class women in the early-modern period that no-one wishes to reveal? Where are the clergymen's wives and daughters of those lawyers or doctors?'.⁷⁹ What is significant in the Edinburgh context is that many 'ladies' (or gentlewomen, in 18th century terms) and women are found doing the same jobs. This does not mean, of course, that they were supplying the same clientele or that their businesses were of the same status. However, Jean Edmonston, who

shouted abuse at a fellow-shopkeeper in the Exchange in 1719 was a writer's wife, as was the woman whom she was abusing. Historians have to be aware that it is all too easy to judge an earlier period by 20th century presuppositions. This can be demonstrated from the entry in the printed Marriage Register for 18th century Edinburgh where the advocate John Polson is recorded as married to 'Ann Strachan, merchant (sic)'. The fact is that Ann Strachan was a merchant, but the modern editor, because he assumed that an advocate was unlikely to have a working wife, recorded this as an error. In a Commissary Court process it was stated during evidence on behalf of the defender, that Polson had married Ann Strachan, the defender's sister-in-law, 'who at that time had a great business and served the highest in the land'. Shopkeeping was not seen to be inferior in any way.

Bridget Hill has also asserted that single women or 'spinsters' were seen to be 'social failures'.⁸⁰ There is no suggestion in the Edinburgh evidence that single women were seen in this light. Indeed the word spinster was not used in Scotland as it was in England until after the standardisation of terminology which followed the introduction of statutory registration of Births, Marriages and Deaths throughout the United Kingdom in 1855. The only other earlier occurrences of the term are in the case of testaments of unmarried Englishwomen which required to be recorded in Scotland.

Although it has been suggested above that many single women had an independence which may have diminished by the 19th century, this is not to suggest that the 18th-century working woman in Edinburgh lived in 'the good old days'. Bell Sinclair, who came to Edinburgh

in 1794 as an 'improver' in mantuamaking, died in Wick several years later of consumption no doubt partly the result of working in poor conditions in the city, having come from the country. Elizabeth Webster a shopkeeper, ended up in Bedlam. Her goods were to be inventoried and kept in custody to see if her disorder, described as 'wrong judgement', was likely to continue. Also, single women often took on the responsibility of their parents and families. Margaret Bowie had to leave her job to go back home to her baxter brother who was ill, and take charge of his shop. Margaret Scott used her own credit to support her writer father in his old age after her profligate brother had gone through the family finance.⁸¹ By the end of the century and during the 19th century conditions for women in shops and the textile trades in general probably deteriorated. More and more male shopkeepers advertised in newspapers who wanted millinery assistants. Single women who had operated small shops may not have been able to meet the cost of buying ready-made garments which were becoming common by the turn of the century and therefore may either have had to give up trade or work for someone else.

The most important aspect of the picture that emerges from this study is the involvement of middle and even some upper class women in the working community, an involvement which was not merely a matter of subsistence but was an experience which must have led to an independent way of life. It is significant that in the Stirling example referred to above it was noted that 'women's memories of work have a clear predominance over non-work memories. Women respondents were able to recall greater detail and to articulate more happy recollections from their working lives than from their domestic

routine with husband and children, even though their working lives were generally of shorter duration. In the vast majority of testimonies, these were the "golden years" looked back on with great fondness'.⁸² This may well have been true for some middle-class women of the 18th century. Looking back in 1758 on her time in partnership with Janet Muschet, Cissie Murray could say in a letter to her,

'I am sartin [certain] never was too more happy then we were, and tho I have reason to be thankful for the way I am in [she was now married] yet I never think on the years wee spent the gether but with regrate...'.⁸³

NOTES

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11. Alexander Law, Education in Edinburgh in the Eighteenth Century (1965), 35.
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38. Earle, op. cit., 162.
39. R.A. Houston, 'Women in the Economy and Society, etc.', 135.
40. Bridget Hill, op. cit., 97.
41. R.A. Houston, op. cit., 135.
42. Murray of Polmaise Muniments (Central Region Archives), GD 189/2/311 (former SRO reference).
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44. Campbell of Barcaldine Muniments (SRO): GD 170/2170/12.
45. Breadalbane Muniments (SRO): GD 112/64/18.
46. Sutherland of Forse Muniments (SRO): GD 139/378.
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49. Extracts from the Burgh Records of Edinburgh, 1655-65,
50. Edinburgh City Archives, Moses Bundles, 25:1033.
51. Breadalbane Muniments (SRO): GD 112/64/18.
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54. See Appendix 3, below.
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61. Edinburgh Commissariat Court Records (SRO): CC8/5/22.
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CHAPTER FOUR

MARRIED WOMEN AND SUBSISTENCEIntroduction

When Thomas Chisholm presented a petition to the magistrates at the end of the 17th century concerning his financial circumstances he claimed that he was in debt and that the only earnings coming into the house were those of his wife 'who spins tow this gives a peck of meal the one week and a load of coals the next'.¹ Although this may be an extreme example, yet it underlines the importance of a wife's contribution to the family income at this period, an importance that was to continue into the next century. This chapter will be concerned with employments used by married women in order to obtain earnings with which to supplement the family income.

The women discussed fall into two main categories: (1) those who took work outside the family home and were therefore employed in a different kind of work from their husbands, (2) those who helped in some way in a family business. It is proposed to look first at what these employments actually entailed and in conclusion, to discuss their significance.

Rouping women and brokers

From the 1730s to 1800 the names of rousing women turn up regularly in Edinburgh testaments. It is not known why these women should have been recorded by name at this period, for before this period the usual practice was simply to record that the valuations of the deceased's household furnishings, etc. were made 'by skillful

Dalkeith Oct 26th 1758
 then received from Mr Gorge promissory
 for the Children the sum of one sh and
 for penes the for calling the Roup eight
 times through Dalkeith for which I grant
 the receipt

By ^{hary} J Dick
 mark



BETTY DICK TOWN CRIER IN DALKEITH
 BORN 1693 DIED 1773

persons' and after 1800 those who valued were increasingly called 'auctioneers' and were often men. Some of the rousing women are from Leith and a few from the Canongate and these have been included. Altogether the names of 121 rousing women are recorded in this record, 102 from Edinburgh, 16 from Leith and 3 from the Canongate. Receipts, signed by the women, are found among funeral bills. Some rousing women also turn up in records in the City Archives, such as burgh sequestrations. Information about brokers was mainly found either in Burgh Court processes or the consistorial records of the Commissary Court. Women who were rousing women or brokers (some were both) are good examples of those who worked outside the family home.

As was noted in Chapter Two the roup played an important part in Edinburgh burgh life and was useful to the inhabitants for various reasons. With reference to the Edinburgh testaments the rousing of the deceased's furniture, body clothes and other effects was mainly carried out so that the creditors could be paid, but also so that a person's estate could be settled. Roups were also held when shopkeepers were giving up business. Some of the shopkeepers and milliners in this study were identified in the first instance from their advertisements in the newspapers which informed the public that they were selling off all their goods at 'below prime cost'. There were other reasons for roups, of course. One of these arose from the use of pledging which seems to have been used for most of the century even among the middle-classes. A person might pledge some clothes, plate or linen for the loan of ready cash, or even as a security for rent of lodgings. When the agreed time for repayment of the debt had passed the creditor might apply to the Commissary Court

Opposite: Receipt by Betty Dick, town crier, Dalkeith, for payment for calling a roup, 26 October 1758 (CC8/4/505). Drawing of Betty Dick by John Kay, Original Portraits, which suggests that she 'cried' in Edinburgh.

to have pledged goods roused to pay for the outstanding debt. Sometimes creditors would apply to the Commissary Court for permission to rouse the debtor's personal belongings when payment was not forthcoming. For example, one landlord asked if he might sell a student's clothes and books to pay for rent since he had gone away. In another instance when a washerwoman was not paid for washing and the customer had not returned for the clothes, she asked if she might rouse the garments to pay for the debt.² Details regarding rouses found in the Commissary Court processes give some idea as to the amount of work involved.

The rouse also provided some small payments for inhabitants of the burgh besides the rousing women. Mrs Shore, for example, was paid in 1754 for the use of her house for the rouse of General Churchill's effects.³ Linens had sometimes to be washed by washerwomen to make them more presentable for the rouse and furniture had to be polished, moved and guarded. If the deceased was a craftsman his tools and other valuables might have to be taken to the weighhouse to be weighed and very often specialists such as jewellers, goldsmiths, pewterers and apothecaries were called in to value goods. Even the valuation of certain clothing might on occasion be done by a tailor or mantuamaker, while booksellers were called in to value books.

Bills which are included in the funeral expenses often give a vivid picture of the extent of the work in connection with a rouse and of the people involved in it. They also give some idea of the part played by rousing women some of whom not only valued the body clothes, furniture and household furnishings but actually roused the goods, a process which could take as long as four or five days.

The bill for rousing the effects of William Laing, vintner, who died in 1769, includes:

'Paid the chapmen for advertising the roup twice the first day and once the second and once on a former day when the roup was put off, 4s

Paid for a licence to disperse the advertisements 1s 2d

Paid Walter Ruddiman for printing the advertisements 2s 6d

Paid a caddie for dispersing the advertisements three several days going messages and attending etc. 3s 6d

Paid a porter for attending the roup gathering the furniture together to be roused carrying the silver plate pewter and lead cistern to be weighed and dues weighing the same 3s 8d

To entertainment for the Clerk Rousing woman and officer during the roup 15s

Paid the officer attending that the furniture might not be embezzled 2s 6d

Paid Mrs Coutts rousing woman for rousing the furniture £1 15s

To clerk servants trouble rousing said effects ingathering money etc. 1/3s⁴

As well as 'rousing woman' the women were also designated 'auctioneer', 'comprisor', 'common evaluator' and 'ordinary accustomed rousing woman within the city'. There is evidence that some rousing women who turn up in the testaments were also brokers, congregating together at large auctions in the hope of buying up clothing and furniture which they sold afterwards in their 'warerooms'. For example, John Stables, a cryer, charged for 'going through the rousing women' to collect money for goods they had bought. Rousing women such as Jean Blackwood, a writer's widow, and Bethia Baillie a minister's widow, however, probably only carried out valuations.⁵

Rouping women and brokers must have been well-known in the burgh and to the officials of the Commissary Court. Since each roup had to be authorised by this court, a warrant issued and a clerk present at the roup the rousing women would be familiar to the clerk who drew up the roup roll and performed other duties. For example, when the trustees of the creditors of Alexander Moodie presented a petition in 1766 to the clerk of the Commissary Court complaining that John Mollison who had acted as depute at the time of Moodie's roup had given credit to two rousing women, Mollison asserted that he knew that the rousing women 'were in use' to get credit from the clerks for two or three months even although ready cash was normally required at a roup. He was then asked which of the clerks allowed the rousing women credit and he answered that 'it was the practice of William Russell late depute clerk of court to give such allowance'.⁶ This was probably because Russell knew a number of the women personally.

Many of the rousing women appear to have worked in pairs. This was probably because it got the job done more quickly, as every single item no matter how small had to be priced. Some of these women may have been related or knew each other socially. For example, Mrs Tait and Jean Blair (Mrs Kay) were both goldsmiths' wives.⁷ The rousing women also saw to any washing and cleaning that was necessary, probably contacting washerwomen whom they knew to do the work. Contacts were important in all employments, not just in shopkeeping. Funeral bills often reflect this aspect of subsistence. In one bill James Wilson, a cordiner, claimed in 1735 for ale to the funeral of Mrs Falconer, for the services of his wife in rousing the

household furniture etc., and for the wages of his daughter Sophia who had been servant to Mrs Falconer. In her deposition John Wilson's wife, the rousing woman, deponed that she had 'agreed with the defunct for the said Sofia to have six pounds Scots and a pair of shoes for the half year's service and was often in the house ... and was present when the defunct was coffined ...'.⁸ Employment could sometimes be provided within the family; in 1737 when Robert Blackwood died Jean Blackwood, widow of Alexander Glas writer, valued the furniture along with Ann Hamilton, wife of Charles McKie professor of history at the university.⁹

This type of employment must have led to some degree of independence since, apart from auctioneers' wives, the rousing women operated separately from their husbands outside the family home. In this employment the women took independent decisions, granting bills and making financial transactions independently of their husbands. Although there are examples of husbands such as James Wilson claiming expenses on behalf of their wives, receipted bills are found signed by the women themselves, showing that the women received the money into their own hands.

This aspect of their employment is underlined in a case of scandal involving two brokers which was brought to the Commissary Court by Janet Hall (Mrs Macdonald) against Mary Rutherford (Mrs Aitken) in 1788. When Mary Rutherford the defender pled that she could not afford to pay the fine it was stated for Janet Hall the complainer that

'the defender's husband is a bellows maker to trade and she (the defender) is a broker and an extensive one too. It was in the prosecution of this branch of the business which she carries on separately from her husband that the scandell was committed and consequently her funds arising from this separate trade may be attached for payment of the sum now discerned. In the course of her business she grants bills and other obligations that are made out of her separate funds and there can be no good reason assigned why a debt arising ex deficio may not be recovered likewise'.¹⁰

It is impossible to estimate how much money women made from this employment. Some of them are found operating over a number of years. Agnes McLelland, for example, roused from 1730 to 1749, almost 20 years, and she may well have been doing so before and after these dates. Like other working women the rousing woman could find herself in debt, especially if she were a widow, and a number (although not enough to provide any significant statistics) are recorded among the burgh sequestrations in the City Archives. Such women, however, were hardly out to create a successful business but were only concerned to supplement the family earnings or to support themselves as widows.

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As can be seen from the following Table, of the 32 identified occupations of rousing women's husbands, 6 were from the professions and the remaining 26 from the merchants and craftsmen.

Occupations of the husbands of rousing women

Wrights	10
Merchants	6
Goldsmiths	3
Shoemakers	3
Vintners	2
Tailors	3
Writing masters	2
Upholsterers	2
Gardeners	2
Gentlemen's servants	2
Sailors	2
Auctioneers	2
Writers	2
Bookbinders	2
'Indwellers'	2
Bellowsmaker	1
Surgeon	1
Slater	1
Pewterer	1
Glover	1
Clerk to the weighhouse	1
Saddler	1
Staymaker	1
Cooper	1
University professor	1
Mealmonger	1
Weaver	1
Music teacher	1
Smith	1
Wigmaker	1
Mason	1
Minister	1

The occupation highest on the Table is that of wright. This is not surprising since rousing women and brokers were dealing in furniture as well as clothes and may well have got some experience in their husbands' businesses. In the eighteenth century wrights' bills show that they made furniture such as beds and presses, altered them, took items to pieces and put them together again, in order to fit them into the small spaces in the dwelling places of the Old Town of Edinburgh, before the development of the New Town houses with their larger rooms. As has been noted already the wrights were usually in charge of funeral arrangements and supplied coffins and, therefore, may well have been in the position to obtain business for their wives who were rousing women.

However, women in this employment may have learned their trade other than in their husbands' businesses. Some may well have come from a background where the necessary knowledge could be acquired. It has not been possible to identify the fathers of a sufficient number of them to provide significant statistics.

The presence of a number of professional men's wives in rousing may seem surprising today, for example, the wives of writers, ministers and professors. Jean Blackwood was certainly a writer's widow, but Anne Hamilton with whom she valued furniture in 1739 was spouse to Charles McKie, Professor of History at the University. In isolation the latter example may seem to require some explanation but when we find the wife of another professor making dead-linens and the wives of writers and ministers running shops it becomes less surprising.¹¹

Because rousing, unlike broking, had its 'official' side (a

roup had to be authorised by the Commissary Court) the women employed in it probably operated over a fairly long period for in a sense they had a better chance of obtaining work once they were well established and known to be experienced. One example of this is underlined in a Burgh Court process where a defender alleged that she had chosen Mrs Miller as she had been told she was 'of the first character and best employed'. This is also reflected in the case of a roup of the effects of a roomsetter to pay for arrears of rent. The writer who was dealing with a case in 1792 asserted that it was fortunate that Mrs Philip the auctioneer was to roup the goods as she herself was a creditor and would therefore do all in her power to raise the price of the goods.¹²

On the whole the evidence suggests that the married rousing women (including widows) were not poor women trying to scrape a living but were mostly women whose husbands were part of the burgh community who were mostly merchants or craftsmen. Brokers, on the other hand, may have been poorer women although some of those who turn up in the evidence were married to craftsmen, and some rousing women were also brokers. There is little doubt, however, that all the rousing women were using their employment to supplement family income.¹³

Although it is married women who are presently under discussion it is also important to note that 24 of those identified appear to be single, but the fathers of only 2 are given a designation: Margaret Hay is identified as 'daughter of Major Hay and rousing woman in Edinburgh'; Janet Pringle is designated 'daughter of John Pringle'.

Helen Angus, Janet Kerr and Jean Drummond are called 'auctioneers' and could have been auctioneers' daughters.¹⁴

Women keeping stalls in the Burgh markets

Although these women, the wives or widows of fishmongers, fleshers, poultrymen and so on, were part of the family business, their responsibility for the selling side of the business at the stalls took them for some part of the day at least into the markets and therefore outside the family home.

As already noted, all the burgh markets had their allotted space, and those selling at the stalls had to be free of the burgh. The hiring of the stalls was under the direction of a tacksman who collected the rents. Needless to say there was a good deal of complaining about the cost of the stalls and Jean Hogg who objected loudly in the poultry market was not the only dissatisfied person. She complained about the state of her stand, called the tacksman 'a rogue' and said it was 'robbery to take 8d a week from her husband for such an insufficient stand'.¹⁵

The presence of the women at the stalls is understandable since husbands such as fleshers were occupied with buying, selling, killing and generally looking after the animals. Fruiterers and gardeners were growing and attending to the 'garden stuff'. The women's side of the business, therefore, was essential to the family earnings. Although there could be disagreements and rivalry among women stallholders it is clear that when it came to preserving their livelihood they stuck together and evidence shows that when

circumstances demanded they were prepared to get together to defend their corner, either by going to law or by ignoring it. Burgh Court processes, therefore, record not only tacksmen taking the women to law but also the women, either individually or in groups, defending their own position by taking their case to the Burgh Court. Unfortunately the surviving papers from these cases which have been examined for this study do not reveal the outcome of the cases. Nevertheless, the kind of situations that arose not only show the determination of the women to defend the welfare of the whole family but also give a picture of just how actively involved these market-women were in burgh life and the community at large. The following examples give some idea of the kind of complaints that were brought to the court by the women themselves and also examples of cases brought against the women.

In 1685 a petition was presented to the magistrates by six women (Elizabeth Ritchie and five others) who were fishwives, in which they complained about an attempt to remove them from the head of the Fishmarket Close where they were vending their fish.¹⁶ These women were probably the wives of fishmongers who had burgess rights, but this is not made clear. It is obvious, however, that they were prepared to complain and since they took the trouble to present a petition to the magistrates, it is clear that they believed they had the right to do so, as did the eight 'wives of the butter weighhouse' who brought a petition in 1742. The butterwives complained on two grounds: firstly, that they were being asked to pay a higher stent when in fact business was bad (borne out, they said, by the fact that only 9 out of 13 tables had been set) and secondly, that this was

caused by unfree traders vending butter round the doors. They asked, therefore, to be relieved of the stent and that steps be taken to prevent these unfree vendors from taking away their trade, 'clandestinely carried on in every corner of the city to your petitioners hurt and ruin...'.¹⁷ The petition was to be 'remit to Bailie Coutts and his committee' but no outcome is recorded. These eight women had signed by their initials.

In 1765 Janet Dickson, a poultryman's wife, in fact designated 'poultrywoman', took Andrew Inch tacksman of several dovecots in and around Edinburgh, to court. She alleged that she and Katherine Reid a tailor's wife, had agreed with Inch to take pigeons from him but now she claimed that those he had brought were 'silly bodied' and 'unmercatable being green and blue in the colour and much damnified'.¹⁸

As has already been stated, however, women not only went to law but chose to ignore it when it suited their purpose, and there are many examples of tacksmen complaining about forestalling. One of these cases concerned women in the Fishmarket. The wives of nine fishmongers were accused in 1747 of buying fish before it came to the market; one of the husbands is designated 'wright and fishmonger'. The allegation against them was that they were

'... accustomed to go out of town and even over the other side of the water to buy up fishes and salmon in the way or road coming into Edinburgh before these fishes are presented to the market... particularly the said Catherine Beg (spouse of Andrew Miller fishmonger) and Anna Methven (spouse of John McKenzie fishmonger) on 1st went over to Kinghorn or some other place and brought up 3 cart loads less or more of salmon coming to Edinburgh before they were presented at market and the other defenders Helen Symmers (spouse of Daniel Stewart fishmonger), Grizel McArthur (spouse of James Leggat fishmonger), Isobel Hume (spouse of

John Banks fishmonger) were partners with them in the said bargain and they employed the said Catherine Begg and Ann Methven to buy part of the salmon for them... and the said Margaret Stoddart (spouse of Abraham Smith fishmonger) and Grizel Birnie (spouse of John Duncan fishmonger) went over to Kinghorn or some other place and bought a cartload of salmon ... coming into Edinburgh before market...'.

Only three of these women could write and have signed their names. They all acknowledged their part in the transaction with the exception of Ann Methven who although she admitted 'buying of green and dry fishes within the time libelled', denied buying salmon.¹⁹ Again the outcome of this case is unknown.

There are also instances of 'kailwives', 'fruitwives' and sellers of 'greenstuffs' being taken to court for forestalling. However, the evidence points to tacksman themselves practising forestalling. For example, Archibald Williamson, tacksmen of the fruit market was informed against in 1749 by several women who alleged that he had bought fruit, roots, etc., before it got to the market and had had the goods taken to his own cellars and sold over again. However, it appears that the fruit wives themselves had been going to the carriers' quarters to buy up nuts before these were presented to the market. Williamson himself complained to the bailies about nine kailwives from Musselburgh who he alleged had been selling to hucksters before eight o'clock in the morning. Although these women were from outside the burgh they not only sold to hucksters but appear to have had their own stands for they were accused of 'daily keeping their stands betwix the Royal Bank Close head and the Laigh Coffee House from 10 o'clock till five in the

evening' against the rules of the market. In their defence the accused women alleged that they were prevented from using their allotted stands because of coaches standing in the white-iron market and therefore they had no room to stand between the coaches and the Royal Bank Close head.²⁰ As the bailies were to visit the market before giving judgement the decision is not recorded.

Although it would be interesting to know the outcome of such cases they are still not without significance in that they show women not merely standing at their husbands' stalls selling their produce but actively involved in the cut and thrust of burgh life. The fact that women went to court over unpaid bills and that their husbands were only called to appear 'for his interest', underlines that the women were personally responsible for their side of the business. A case taken to the burgh court in 1747 by Margaret Lawson, spouse to John Boyd, poultryman, bears this out and its details underline her own part in the work attached to the poultry business, such as plucking hens and preparing goose grease:

'7 stone of hen feathers	£2.00
6 lbs of hen feathers	- 15s
1½ stones Dowans at 10s sterling per stone	16s
for goose creesh and profit of a goose ²¹	

The complaint brought by Janet Dickson regarding the state of the birds also shows that these women had to know all there was to know about marketing and the quality of the goods that they were buying and selling. It is apparent from detail in the records that the women were handling a substantial amount of produce; the birds

sold by Andrew Inch to Janet Dickson and Katherine Reid were priced per dozen and in this case the women had bought altogether 140 dozen. These women had to know the costing side of selling and keeping of accounts since not all customers paid at the time, as unpaid bills demonstrate. Although some of the women who turn up in such cases could not write this was of less significance in the world of work in the period being investigated than it would be today. Esther Ramsay, active in the 1780s, an established rousing woman and a slater's wife, one of whose daughters married a goldsmith and another a writer, could 'sign' only by her mark.²²

Wives of professionals

The wives and widows of professionals were not necessarily working outside the family home but they were involved in employments different from those of their husbands. Although some of these married women have been discussed in other chapters it is necessary now to look at the wives and widows of professionals as a whole. The married women discussed here are the wives or widows of ministers, writers, teachers and officials such as post office clerks, officers of the Excise and bank clerks.

It may seem surprising that the wives and widows of professionals should be working at all. In his paper, 'The female labour market in London in the later 17th and early 18th centuries', Earle states that,

March 14 1709	For washing and dressing 15 suite of cloaths	—	—	—	2	—
	For washing and dressing 9 suite for my Lady	—	—	—	0	—
March 22	For washing and dressing 3 suite of night cloaths to my Lady	0	—	—	—	—
	For washing and dressing 9 suite of cloaths for the Laird	—	—	—	—	—
	For washing and dressing 3 smocks to my Lady	—	—	—	—	—
	For washing and dressing 4 suite of positives & 2 head suite	—	—	—	0	—
March 20	For washing and dressing 5 aprons	—	—	—	0	—
	For washing and dressing 16 suite of cloaths for the Laird	0	—	—	—	—
	For washing and dressing 6 smocks for my Lady	—	—	—	—	—
	For washing and dressing 4 suite of positives and on head	—	—	—	0	—
April 4th 1709	For washing and dressing 4 aprons	—	—	—	—	—
	For washing and dressing 10 suite of cloaths for the Laird	—	—	—	—	—
	For washing and dressing 6 smocks for my Lady	—	—	—	0	—
	For washing and dressing 3 head suite and 3 pairs of positives	—	—	—	0	—
April 11	For washing and dressing 4 aprons	—	—	—	—	—
	For washing and dressing 9 suite of cloaths for the Laird	—	—	—	—	—
	For washing and dressing 6 smocks to my Lady	—	—	—	—	—
	For washing and dressing on head and 4 suite of positives	—	—	—	0	—
	For washing and dressing 9 suite of cloaths for the Laird	—	—	—	—	—
	For washing and dressing 6 smocks for my Lady	—	—	—	0	—
	For washing and dressing 3 suite of positives	—	—	—	0	—
	For washing and dressing 5 aprons	—	—	—	0	—
	For making 3 suite of positives	—	—	—	0	—
May 25 1709	For furnishing & all of muslin at 5 sh: ster: per ell	—	—	—	1	—
	For washing and dressing 10 suite of cloaths to the Laird	—	—	—	—	—
	For washing and dressing 4 suite of head cloths for my Lady	—	—	—	0	—
	For washing and dressing 5 smocks to the Lady	—	—	—	—	—
	For washing and dressing 5 suite of cloaths to my Lady	—	—	—	0	—
June 9th 1709	For washing and dressing 5 aprons	—	—	—	—	—
	For washing and dressing 10 head suite	—	—	—	—	—
	For washing and dressing 10 suite of cloaths to the Laird	—	—	—	—	—
	For washing and dressing 4 smocks to my Lady	—	—	—	—	—
	For washing and dressing 10 aprons	—	—	—	—	—

Summa 27 — 13

As embrough 22d August 1709

Received full and Compleat payment of the above written accompt of
 And all proceeding the date herof. by me

Anna Dol

'No woman whose husband was described as a master said that she worked for her living. The same holds true for the wives of most of the gentlemen, the professionals, the more skilled artisans and the more distinguished and better paid generally though there were many exceptions...'.²³

As has already been shown, the attitude to work implied in the above account is not found in the Edinburgh evidence. Even the Law Courts in dealing with cases of scandal which concerned employment acknowledged that these women were running businesses which would be affected by any slight on their 'good name'.²⁴ This is also reflected in court depositions where the wives of professionals asserted that they had been in business for many years. Even the minister David Freebairn did not simply send in a bill for graveclothes for Colin Campbell of the Breadalbane family but wrote on the bill 'furnished by my wife'.²⁵ Indeed, on many such accounts women sign with both their own and their husbands' surnames. When Anna Dobie, wife of David Freebairn above, sent in an account for dressing linens for Baron Clerk of Penicuik, it was headed 'Mrs Freebairn' but signed 'Anna Dobie'.²⁶ Husbands at no time hid the fact that their wives were doing the jobs themselves. When Sir Robert Dunbar, who had rented rooms from Katherine Bannatyne, wife of George Barclay, minister, complained that a wig that he had left in his room had gone missing, he stated that he would pursue Barclay as master of the house. It was answered for Barclay that Dunbar should rather pursue his wife, for

'... he [Barclay] did not meddle with chamber setting, he neither took the house or gave orders to take any for that purpose [i.e. roomsetting] and he neither made the bargain with him or was witness to it'.²⁷

Opposite: Account due to Anna Dobie, Mrs Freebairn, wife of David Freebairn Episcopal minister, by Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, for washing and dressing linens, March - June 1709 (Clerk of Penicuik Muniments: GD18/2172)

Of course, in the case of shopkeeping and mantuamaking there was no possibility of hiding the fact that the women were working. When Archibald MacAulay took a debtor to court for an unpaid bill the shop servant who deponed in connection with the bill was designated 'Margaret Christie, shopkeeper to Mrs MacAulay'. This was in 1748 and Carola Young had been shopkeeping before her marriage to MacAulay in 1710.²⁸ It is obvious from Archibald Bowie's advertisement that he believed his wife's experience in shopkeeping would enhance the reputation of their business. When advertising his goods in the Caledonian Mercury he explained that his wife had been apprenticed to Thomas Young and was well acquainted with all the different branches of the business.

For women whose husbands were professionals there may have been more help at hand for taking debtors to court and sending out bills, especially if the husband was a writer or a teacher. But many wives operated their businesses otherwise independently with the help of servants. Jean Fraser, for example, a milliner and a writer's wife in the 1760s had two servants who helped her in her shop. One was called a milliner and was 25 years old, the other was 20 years old.²⁹ Whether these women lived 'in family' with their employer as many did it is impossible to say. If they were local they probably went home at night; day apprentices were occasionally advertised for. Such working wives must have spent much of the day in their shops away from home while their husbands earned a living in some other way.

There were, of course, a number of married women who either had boarding schools or taught day pupils, some of whom were in similar employment to their teacher husbands. While Mary Esplin, for

example, taught embroidery and sewing to her boarders and made graveclothes her husband taught writing, arithmetic, geography and drawing, as well as carrying on his engraver's business. Mrs Le Pica taught French while her husband was a dancing master and Mrs Bollavelli taught singing while her husband taught French and Italian. These women probably viewed themselves as earning their own living. Indeed, in the replies for Guiseppi Puppo during his divorce case from Rebecca Gibson, he alleged that Rebecca had had more work than him and that although 'by his right of jus mariti he could have drawn the profit of both' he allowed her to keep her own profits. When Margaret Charteris died in 1749 she is designated 'merchant in Edinburgh, widow of Daniel Stewart, writer there'.³⁰

Many wives of professional men, as will be seen from Appendix 4, are known to have worked both before and after marriage. Even those for whom this cannot be verified may have significant family backgrounds. For example, Euphemia Hart, graveclothes-maker and wife of a writer, was a wright's daughter and, as has been shown, a number of wrights' wives were involved in graveclothes-making; as a daughter Euphemia may well have helped in this employment. Barbara Sheills, who was a milliner and the wife of Robert Ramsay, writer, was the daughter of a milliner.³¹

In the following case where it looks as if the wife is giving up business on marriage, the circumstances seem to suggest otherwise. The case was one of unfree trading, entered in the minutes of the Merchant Company in 1710, in which George Gordon's wife is given as '— Pittulo spouse to George Gordon, advocate'. In the first mention of her case her trade was to be 'enquired into', and 'all prudent

steps taken to detect the same and to speak to her and her husband thereanent...'. The next entry concerning her states that she and her husband are to be poinded and a few days later the Company were still 'looking into Mrs Gordon's trade' and had decided to take 'the most effectual course to draw a poind from her..'. A little later, however, she is found being poinded with others in the Krames. The situation was not resolved for some time later a longer entry reads:

'The officer produced a piece of tabbie poinded from Mrs Gordon last week consisting of several particulars under seal of the treasurer and others... Mr George Gordon advocate her husband compeared and craved those present would take the matter under their consideration alledging that what trade his lady had is but small and that neither he nor she designs to trade nor had a further trade since his marriage but only to put off what was in hand and for any past transgression against the Company the said Mr Gordon pleads ignorance and refers himself to the discretion of those present... and their finding six or seven years back that the said Mrs Gordon then Mrs Campbell was discovered as a considerable unfree trader, frequently warned to show her title and as frequently ordered to be poinded but still disobeyed and slighted the orders of this Company and ... having certain information that the said Mrs Gordon has made great advantages by her merchandising in Edinburgh, do find her and her said husband for his interest highly culpable of encroaching so long and so frequently and avowedly on the privileges of this Company...'.

They decided, however, that 'because of the said Mr Gordon his frankness in referring himself to the Company ... they ordain him only to pay the treasurer £5 sterling in full of all former fines and past transgressions and to give up the poind. But in case he do not make pleasant payment before next meeting - his fine be hightened and augmented as they think fitt'. However, the treasurer and some of the assistants decided that since 'Mr Gordon in respect of his being positive to give up trade and his having bought no goods since his marriage and his referring himself to the Company and upon certain

other considerations [conveniently not named] did modify his fine to 2 guineas'.

The circumstances of this case of unfree trading are ambiguous; although it is stated that she intended to give up business the evidence suggests that Mrs Gordon may have been reluctant to give up the profits from her trade. It also shows how little clout the Merchant Company had in getting in fines, for about four months later it is evident that Gordon had made no effort to pay even the 2 guineas and there is also a suggestion that under cover of selling off the goods Mrs Gordon was still trading. The entry reads:

'Information having been given that Mr George Gordon, advocate, is about making up a lottery of several goods to a considerable value either in his own name or in the name of his wife or sister-in-law, the treasurer appoints forthwith to apply for payment of the £24 Scots which the said Mr Gordon rests this Company per his note, in case of not punctual payment to use diligence for recovery thereof... according to law'.

A few days later the treasurer was asked to prosecute all those with lotteries, 'particularly Mr George Gordon and his sister-in-law and to recover the fine he owes the Company'. What happened in the end is not made clear in the minutes. It is unfortunate that not more is known about Gordon and his wife. The latter may have been Alison Pittulo who paid dues to the Company in 1699. There were several women shopkeepers called Pittulo and George Gordon's wife and a sister may well have been in business together before the former married. She may have kept on trading under her sister's name but the necessary evidence as to whether she kept on working after marriage has not so far come to light. In 1717 a 'Mrs Gordon in the Crames' paid dues to the Company and this may well have been her.³²

Receipt W. Clark

Helen Gray ~ ~ ~

Att p 8

June 4	grain and Sarte	02 = 00 = 0
5	grain 4 porks moill	02 = 17 = 0
29	grain for backing 2 pork of moill	00 = 02 = 0
July 4	grain for backing 4 pork of moill	00 = 04 = 0
9	grain for backing 4 porks of moill	00 = 04 = 0
11	grain for ane Sarte	02 = 00 = 0
15	grain for backing 4 porks of moill	00 = 04 = 0
17	grain for ane Sarte	02 = 00 = 0
18	grain for backing 3 porks of moill	00 = 03 = 0
22	grain for backing 3 porks of moill	00 = 03 = 0
25	grain for backing 2 porks of moill & 6 rolls	00 = 06 = 0
30	grain for ane Sarte	02 = 00 = 0
	grain for backing 3 porks of moill	00 = 03 = 0
Aug: 8	grain for ane Sarte	02 = 00 = 0
	grain for baking 3 porks of moill	00 = 03 = 0
26	grain for ane Sarte	02 = 00 = 0
	grain for baking 4 porks of moill	00 = 04 = 0
Oct: 28	grain for 4 porks of moill	02 = 17 = 0
Nov: 4	grain for 4 porks of moill	02 = 16 = 0
10	grain for 4 porks moill	02 = 16 = 0
18	grain for 4 porks moill	02 = 16 = 0
	grain and Sarte	02 = 00 = 0
21	grain for 4 porks of moill	02 = 16 = 0
25	grain for 4 porks of moill	02 = 16 = 0
28	grain for 4 porks of moill	02 = 16 = 0
Dec: 2	grain for 4 porks of moill	02 = 16 = 0
5	grain for 4 porks of moill	02 = 16 = 0
9	grain for 4 porks of moill	02 = 16 = 0
11	grain for 4 porks of moill	02 = 16 = 0
	grain a pint of sack	02 = 00 = 0
Jan: 8	grain and Sarte	02 = 00 = 0
16	grain	
Feb: 20	grain and Sarte	02 = 00 = 0
Sept: 1	grain 4 porks of moill baked	00 = 04 = 0
11	grain and apple Sarte	02 = 00 = 0
Dec: 10	grain and apple Sarte	02 = 00 = 0
Dec: 15	grain and apple Sarte	02 = 00 = 0
	grain 1/2 lit almond biscuit	00 = 17 = 0
	grain 6 rolls	00 = 07 = 0
18	grain 1/2 lit biscuit	00 = 17 = 0
	grain 2 pds of short bread	00 = 08 = 0

The fact that Gordon was an advocate had probably little to do with the outcome. The Merchant Company appear on the whole to have had little respect for persons as regards the professionals (unless there was some money to be got). In 1704 the wife of George Andrew, minister of the New North Church, was reported to the Company for unfree trading. It was noted in the minutes that Mr George Andrew was to be spoken to, the officials of the Merchant Company having been informed that 'his wife trades considerably in several sorts of goods'. He was therefore to be warned and 'the Dean of Guild Court acquainted'.³³

The following examples show that even when women married for a second time they still continued to work. Isobel Haliburton married a merchant James Lithgow in 1668. He became a burgess in her right in 1672. After James Lithgow's death in 1704 Isobel married, secondly, Samuel Nimmo, minister at Colinton. She was a cordiner's daughter and may have had enough financial backing to set up a shop of her own before her first marriage. It is certain that she was involved in James Lithgow's merchant business for she was shopkeeping when she married Nimmo. An entry in the Merchant Company minutes in 1704 reads: 'The treasurer informs that Mr Samuel Nimmo late minister at Colinton who married James Lithgow's relict keeps shop in town and who is burgess per ticket produced has paid dues...'. Nimmo must have died during or before 1706 when Isobel is called his relict. She is still found trading in 1718 by which time, unless she married for the first time when very young, she must have been in her seventies.³⁴

Opposite: Account due to Helen Gray, baxter, wife of John Hamilton, writer, for baking, 4 June 1696 to 26 December 1697 (E.C.A. B.C.P. Box 34 Bundle 94)

Bethia Dundas is a good example of a married woman who appears to have been reluctant to give up work on marriage. Her extant bills in the Edinburgh Burgh court processes show that even in 1698, five years after her marriage to her third husband, Robert Innes, she was still selling cloth and she continued to trade after Innes's death. She was a merchant's daughter who in 1668 was married for the first time to Robert Frogg also a merchant. She married secondly, in 1686, Robert Veitch, a writer, and thirdly, in 1693, Robert Innes, also a writer. The evidence shows that throughout her life, whether married or widowed, Bethia continued to trade extensively, mainly in cloth. A bill which shows her supplying cloth to the Laird of Dundas suggests that she may have been related to his family; she was at that point 'relict of Robert Veitch'. With her third husband, Robert Innes, she turns up in the Poll Tax records, where Innes is said to be worth 10,000 merks. Her daughter by her first marriage, Elizabeth Frogg, lived in family with them.³⁵

Jean Straiton, Mrs Williamson, was the seventh wife of David Williamson, minister of the West Kirk parish. Williamson was sixty-six when they married in 1700, and he died in 1706 leaving her with young children one of whom, also Jean, became a shopkeeper and features in the Commissary Court process noted below. Jean Straiton, the minister's widow, took embroidery commissions in the 1720s and kept a boarding school for at least 12 years (1714-26), probably longer since she was owed two outstanding bills for room rent when she died in 1741, although these may have been outstanding for some years. In 1717 she married, secondly, John Martin a bookseller but

continued to keep her boarding school. Jean Williamson her daughter continued to live with her mother and stepfather and appears to have supplied her mother's boarders with goods, probably cloth for embroidery. Jean Straiton and her daughter probably worked together, both involved in school and shop, for it is recorded in Jean Straiton's testament in 1741 that she had in her possession 'an old tent for twilting (quilting) and old books for tying up wares weighing 7lbs 12ozs at 1d per lb'. What is significant in this case, however, is that when John Martin died the creditors claimed that they were 'in use of furnishing Mr Martin with goods for carrying on his wife's separate business'.³⁶

What is clear from the Merchant Company minutes, however, is that the Company's officials took it for granted that married women might well be trading after marriage, even in the case of an advocate's or a minister's wife. As has been noted earlier, however, some of the officials themselves had wives who worked, so that their assumption concerning married women and work is not surprising.

Wives of tradesmen and craftsmen, with separate businesses from their husbands

In her book Women, Work and Sexual Politics in Eighteenth Century England, Bridget Hill notes that a wide variety of trades was open to women in Bedfordshire, Sussex, Warwickshire and Wiltshire. She shows that in the period 1710-60 women were apprenticed to blacksmiths, carpenters, watchmakers, ironmongers, clockmakers,

pewterers and goldsmiths. Ivy Pinchbeck shows that in London also in the eighteenth century girls were apprenticed to goldsmiths, although by the last quarter of the century this was much less common and ceased altogether in the nineteenth century.³⁷

Although the numbers of these women who were apprenticed to crafts and trades in England may have been small compared to the number of male apprentices it does show that at least some of these trades and crafts were open to women. In Scotland, and in Edinburgh in particular, there is no evidence that women were officially apprenticed to or learned any trades or crafts at any time during the eighteenth century.

However, there is some evidence to suggest that unofficially women may have helped in certain crafts which required sewing skills. For example, Hamish Fraser notes in his book Conflict and Class, Scottish Workers 1700-1838 that by the 1790s journeymen shoemakers had begun working at home where they were assisted by their wives and families. This may well have been going on for some time. In a case involving striking journeymen shoemakers it was stated that 'MacGuffock's women walkers struck for a day', which suggests that women may have done some parts of the process which did not require training.³⁸

In his chapter on 'The World of the Eighteenth Century Tradesman' Fraser claims that tailoring was open to women. This was not so, at least not officially. In fact, as late as the 1760s the Tailors' Incorporation of Perth took the mantuamakers to court and the Edinburgh and Stirling tailors awaited the outcome. Although the papers relating to this case have not so far been located, a

memorial written in 1763 in answer to a query from the Stirling tailors states that the court ruled that tailoring was distinct from mantuamaking.³⁹

The main point at issue between the tailors and mantuamakers appears to have been, as always, a financial one. There was mention in the Minutes of the Edinburgh Merchant Company in 1705 of a Mrs Edwards who made 'linnings and others for women for which she pays an acknowledgement to the Tailors'. In 1752 the boxmaster of the Edinburgh Tailors' Incorporation was asked to draw up an annual list of all mantuamakers in the burgh, noting how much each mantuamaker paid yearly; in 1752 there were 18, in 1754 23 were recorded. In 1759 there was a complaint against 'the encroachment that have been made of late by the mantuamakers'. The Tailors seem to have been basically concerned to extract payment from the mantuamakers. Indeed, the court case referred to above had come about in Perth because a mantuamaker had refused to pay anything to the Tailors' Incorporation and a similar refusal had caused the Stirling Tailors to take up the matter. The Memorial advised the Stirling Tailors that because of the court ruling - that mantuamaking was not tailoring - they were not entitled to demand payment from the mantuamakers.⁴⁰

Many tailors themselves, however, probably made use of wives and daughters to assist them unofficially even although this was objected to by the Incorporation as a whole. For example, the wife and daughter of James Paterson, a staymaker and a member of the Tailors' Incorporation, made mantuas in the 1750s and 1760s. One of Mrs Paterson's servants or 'mantuamakers' was in fact the wife of one

of James Paterson's journeymen.⁴¹ Another example is that of Betty Scott who had learned to sew with a tailor before she went as a mantuamaker to Mrs Scott. The most important part of the tailor's job, as has been pointed out, was 'shaping' or cutting. However, when this was done parts of the garment may well have been sewn by wives or daughters. On one occasion, Amelia Anderson, servant to David Hutton, tailor, deponed that she and her mistress had sewn up a gown after David Hutton had shaped it. David Vallance sent cloth to Annie Sheills to be made into drawers and waistcoats, telling her that she might get a tailor to shape them and a woman to sew them up.⁴²

In most crafts, however, women probably had no hand in the actual work but rather attended to the shop or the accounts side of the business. It is not surprising, therefore, that some wives took on another job. Among the married women in this category, who came to light during this study, are the wives and widows of 9 goldsmiths (2 widows), a pewterer's widow and an engraver's wife. The employments carried on were millinery (2), rousing (4), roomsetting (1), graveclothes-making (3) and shopkeeping (1). One of the two women who were goldsmiths' widows had been a graveclothes-maker during her husband's lifetime.⁴³

All these employments took the women outside the home for, although even graveclothes were made at home the women had to take them to the families who had requested them and, as has been shown, most of the women assisted in putting them on. There were even times when the graveclothes-maker had to go out of town; Barbara Cowan charged, in addition to the graveclothes, for a coach for

Novth Capt Simon Frazer in Cannongale

Novth

Mr Rattray for Medicine furnished to Charlotte
Frazer her daughter during her last sickness

1734	To a comiter to your Child Charlotte	0 11 0
"	To a glass of Hyson water to D ^g	0 11 6
"	To a pulv. powder to D ^g	0 11 6
13 th	To a glass of Asthma medicine to D ^g	0 2 6
26 th	To a glass of - - - - -	0 1 0
	To a purging powder - - - - -	0 1 0
	To a D ^g - - - - -	0 1 0
	To a Bursary pulv. plaster - - - - -	0 11 6
	To a Spar. Seltz - - - - -	0 11 6

Pay the above Sum of Eight Shillings Six pence Sterling
to John Walker Wright in Cannongale for my last bill
To the Representative of the deceased
Capt Simon Frazer of Cannongale - Helen Rattray

1734 Expenses of Captain Simon Frazer

Dec th	To a Large Sale of the finest burning Islands for Captain	£ 4 0 0
2	To a Kistling to the Office of fine flannel	0 10 0
3	To a candle furnished to the funeral	0 6 2 1/2
4	To 3 double branched glass scones for 2 Nights	0 10 0
5	To 6 Gold basket & 6 Silver basket plumb cake & 2 Gold cake	0 13 0
6	To fine short bread & common short bread	0 11 11
7	To 10 scones for the Stairs for 2 Nights	0 2 6
8	To Tobacco & pipes	0 2 3
9	To common loaf bread	0 3 0
10	To 6 wine glasses	0 3 0
11	To a Bottle of Brandy and a bottle of Perry	0 3 8

Pay the above Sum of Seven pounds Six pence half penny
Sterling to John Walker Wright in Cannongale for my last bill
To the Representative of Capt
Simon Frazer deceased - Helen Rattray

herself and the surgeon to the house of the deceased which was outside Edinburgh.⁴⁴ Margaret Hart, a minister's daughter, and the wife of a goldsmith, Robert Clerk, had a millinery business in the 1750s which she continued to run after she married. She also took in cloth at her shop to be bleached. The common practice was for cloth to be picked up at shops by servants of those who operated the bleachfields. The information about Margaret Hart turns up in the Burgh Court records because John Weir, the bleacher, had taken her to court for not paying the bill for bleaching; she in turn asserted that she had not received back all the cloth. From the information it appears that her brother had operated the bleachfield before Weir.⁴⁵ It is understandable that, having acquired business skills in a world in which financial survival was precarious, women would see no point in giving these up on marriage.

There were, however, women like Helen Adam who although she had separate employment from her husband was to some extent involved in his business. She was a graveclothes-maker and the wife, later widow, of Patrick Rattray a surgeon-apothecary.⁴⁶ Probably because of the connection between her own work and that of her husband she would be involved in the day-to-day business of a surgeon-apothecary's shop. Such women must have become familiar with the simpler medicines that were available. The surgeon's wife might deal with the people who came and went about the shop and would often know where her husband had gone to visit, in the way that Isobel Young, servant to the surgeon John Cheyne, saw medicines being made up and heard her master say where he was going when he left the shop, or like Elizabeth Duncan, servant to Archibald Napier, druggist, who

Opposite: Account due to Helen Adam, Mrs Rattray, for medicines to the daughter of Captain Simon Fraser in her last illness and for graveclothes, funeral provisions and arrangements for himself when he died; November - December 1734 (E.C.A. B.C.P. Box 93 Bundle 234)

helped to make up the drugs.

Experience of this kind while her husband was alive is suggested by a bill due to Helen Adam, above, in 1735, in which she claimed not only for the making of graveclothes for Captain Simon Fraser and his daughter Charlotte but also for furnishing medicines; this was 6 years after her husband's death. As has been noted in Chapter 2 Helen's daughter Rachael helped her mother in her business and at the time of the above bill had assisted in making the graveclothes, carried them down to 'the burial house' and had 'dressed the child herself and attended until the interment was over'. While Helen's son William was training to be a surgeon she appears in the Minutes of the Surgeons' Incorporation, in 1738, 1739 and 1740, when she received money on account of her poor circumstances. In 1741 due to her 'deplorable situation' she was given one pound sterling, and in October of that year it was noted that £24 Scots had been given by the Incorporation to defray her funeral expenses. In 1742 only months after his mother's death William asked the Incorporation for money to bind him to a new master. Is this only a coincidence, or had William been working with his mother since his father's death? Although not qualified he may have been able to assist her to dispense at least some simple medicines, in order to keep the business going until he might be expected to become a freeman.⁴⁷

Sample of 133 Craftsmen and tradesmen whose wives/
widows had a different occupation from their husbands

<u>Occupation</u> (Men)	<u>Number of</u> <u>Husbands</u>	<u>Occupation</u> (Women)	<u>Number of</u> <u>Wives</u>	<u>Number of</u> <u>Widows</u>
Tailors	26	Mantuumakers	14	-
"		Shopkeepers*	5	1
"		Roupingwomen	2	1
"		Graveclothes-		
		makers	2	-
"		Grocer	-	1
Wrights	23	Roupingwomen	7	3
"		Shopkeepers	7	-
"		Graveclothes-		
		makers	3	2
"		Grocer	1	-
Goldsmiths	10	Roupingwomen	3	-
"		Graveclothes-		
		makers	2	1
"		Shopkeepers	1	1
"		Milliners	1	1
Shoemakers	7	Roupingwomen	3	-
"		Shopkeeper	1	1
"		Milliner	1	-
"		Nurse	1	-
Smiths	5	Shopkeeper	1	-
"		Graveclothes-		
		maker	1	-
"		Grocer	1	-
"		Changekeeper	1	-
"		Roupingwoman	1	-
Surgeons	5	Graveclothes-		
		makers	2	-
"		Shopkeeper	-	1
"		Seller of asses'		
		milk	-	1
"		Roupingwoman	-	1

<u>Occupation</u> (Men)	<u>Number of</u> <u>Husbands</u>	<u>Occupation</u> (Women)	<u>Number of</u> <u>Wives</u>	<u>Number of</u> <u>Widows</u>
Weavers	5	Nurses	2	-
"		Shopkeepers	1	1
"		Roupingwoman	1	-
Candlemakers	4	Shopkeepers	1	2
"		Milliner	1	-
Glaziers	4	Shopkeepers	2	-
"		Graveclothes-		
		makers	2	-
Wigmakers	3	Graveclothes-		
		maker	1	-
"		Printer	1	-
		Roupingwoman	1	-
Baxters	3	Shopkeeper	1	-
"		Graveclothes-		
		maker	1	-
"		White-iron smith	-	1
Staymakers	3	Mantuumaker	2	-
"		Roupingwoman	1	-
Bookbinders	2	Roupingwomen	1	1
Maltsters	2	Shopkeepers	2	-
Masons	2	Shopkeeper	1	-
"		Roupingwoman	1	-
Pewterers	2	Shopkeeper	1	-
"		Roupingwoman	1	-
Saddlers	2	Graveclothes-		
		maker	1	-
"		Roupingwoman	1	-
Skinners	2	Shopkeeper	1	-
"		Glover	-	1
Stablers	2	Shopkeepers	2	-
Stationers	2	Shopkeepers	2	-

<u>Occupation</u> (Men)	<u>Number of</u> <u>Husbands</u>	<u>Occupation</u> (Women)	<u>Number of</u> <u>Wives</u>	<u>Number of</u> <u>Widows</u>
Upholsterers	2	Roupingwomen	2	-
Vintners	2	Roupingwomen	2	-
Gardener	4	Shopkeepers	1	1
"		Roupingwomen	2	-
Bellowsmaker	1	Roupingwoman	1	-
Brewer	1	Shopkeeper	1	-
Cooper	1	Roupingwoman	-	1
Corkcutter	1	Shopkeeper	1	-
Engraver	1	Milliner	1	-
Flesher	1	Graveclothes-		
		maker	-	1
Hatter	1	Shopkeeper	-	1
Heelmaker	1	Nurse	1	-
Mealmonger	1	Roupingwoman	1	-
Printer	1	Shopkeeper	1	-
Slater	1	Roupingwoman	-	1

* Shopkeeper denotes textiles

Wives and widows of merchants, tradesmen and craftsmen involved
in the family business

It is in this context that the part played by wives in supporting the family economy can be most clearly seen. It is understandable that when away from home husbands should leave their wives in charge of the business for the wife had as much to lose as

the husband if the business ran into difficulties. The evidence which came to light during this study suggests that it was taken for granted that a wife if she was involved at all in the family business was as responsible for its day to day running as her husband. When Archibald Chessels and his wife raised an action in court against a debtor, he said he would let his wife depone since he had been out of the country.⁴⁸ It was observed during one court case that 'there is nothing more common than for married women to be praepositura in either assisting their husband in carrying on his business or carrying on business separately from their husbands...'.⁴⁹ For example, in the petition of Helen Duncanson it was stated that '... being her husband's praepositura in retailing liquors [she] was in use to mark down what came from the pursuer...'.⁵⁰

In the case of unpaid bills it was usually the person from whom the goods had been bought or service hired who took the case to court. If the case involved a married woman her husband was called 'for his interest' only. Even in cases where the husband took the case to court the wife would compear personally to make her deposition. This can be seen in a case involving the hire of a funeral hearse from John Walker, coachmaster. From her deposition it is clear that his wife, Christian Ferrier, had dealt with the order:

'Christian Ferrier, spouse to John Walker, coachmaster, anent the account acclaimed by her husband... Lady Primrose sent for the deponent [Christian] and employed her to furnish seven mourning coaches ... that the deponent accordingly furnished a hearse ... 6 horses in mourning and seven mourning coaches ... that the prices charged were such as the deponent and her husband are in use to do'. 51

A very important aspect of the women's involvement is their responsibility on the business side: writing to customers about requests, ordering goods, sending the goods back and forth by carriers, unpacking, sorting and marking down purchases. Alexander Watson said that he never frequented his shop to serve customers, that branch being carried on by his wife, though he was often in it. Although Helen Pettigrew (Mrs Greig) married her journeyman after the death of her first husband, she more or less ran the smithing business, contracted with merchants, granted bills and received payments, and always paid the journeymen herself.⁵²

The involvement of the wife when the husband was otherwise engaged is brought out in the case of a debt incurred by Robert Cumming, Deacon of the Fleshers in 1735. After his wife's death he was taken to court by a glazier for work done to his [Cummings'] tenants' houses. He tried to get out of paying the bill by saying that there was no proof of his having given his wife permission to have the glazing work done. The answers for the pursuer, however, suggest that his wife had been deeply involved in his affairs:

'... it is notour that the defender's deceased spouse managed and directed his whole affairs except that of buying and selling his fleshes the last of which she very often did too and the giving of directions to mend her own tenants' windows fell properly under her administration as being oftenest at home when such things fell out and when complaints came from the tenants of these windows not being sufficient'. 53

When as widows, women carried on the family business, they were often identified by the husband's occupational designation. At the time of her own death Margaret Lauder, widow of a candlemaker, is

designated 'soap and candlemaker', another widow, Isobel Hume, signed a bill with her own name but the bill is headed, 'debtor to Mrs Inglis pewterer', Mrs Bartleman is 'Widow Bartleman baxter in Edinburgh'. Other widows' bills, signed in their own names are headed, 'to Mrs Stewart, wigmaker', and 'to Mrs Combie plumber'. Not only the widows of haberdashers and cloth merchants but those of craftsmen and tradesmen of all kinds carried on the business, with the help of a journeyman. The widow of William Drummond, bookseller, advertised in the Edinburgh Advertiser after her husband's death in 1775:

'Mrs Drummond widow of the deceased William Drummond Bookseller intends to carry on the business at her shop Ossian's Head, opposite to the cross and hopes that friends of her late husband will do her the favour to continue to employ her, as they may depend upon being served with the utmost punctuality and on the most reasonable terms'.

Archibald Eagle was a well-known Edinburgh seedsman, nurseryman to the Society of Improvers. His wife continued to keep the business going after his death and in the Advertiser in April 1775 she informed the public that she had seeds, wax wafers, writing paper and grocery goods, and that 'At Mrs Eagle's nursery at Fountainbridge are fruit trees of her own propagating...'. Katherine Beat, Mrs Burnet, also informed the public that as well as carrying on the tailoring business she was empowered to receive payment of all accounts. A burgh court process of 1786, some eleven years after John Burnet's death, shows that she was still carrying on. She took a writer, Alexander Paterson, to court for non-payment of a bill for tailoring. Paterson had complained that the charge was 'exorbitant' and said he would get the opinion of another 'Taylor of Character'. Paterson

told the court that this had 'affronted the Lady and she Brought an Action...'.⁵⁴ Although the outcome is not known it shows that Katherine Beat was certainly very active in the business years after her husband's death. She was not the only widow to raise an action in court; as has been noted already Mrs Campbell, the well-known printer, won her case when she went to court in defence of her patent.

The widow of Alexander Lighton, staymaker, advertised that she intended to keep on the business and that she was 'retaining a person who had long been in her husband's business'. Mrs Spalding, widow of Charles Spalding, confectioner, was so anxious to keep on her business that she was worried about a rumour that she had given up. She therefore advertised in the newspaper to make sure that the public knew she was still in business. Baking, of course, was a trade where women would more easily become involved. On 2 March 1753 a Canongate baxter, John Adamson, complained that Margaret Mackie his wife had 'deserted his family and set up a shop by herself and did bake and sell bread therein without his authority and to his great prejudice by enticing away his customers...'.⁵⁵ A committee was set up to speak to Mrs Adamson and ask her to give an undertaking to cease baking and retailing by Whitsunday or be prosecuted before the magistrates. A baxter's widow would be likely to carry on after her husband's death. Helen Gray, widow of John Ferguson, baxter, continued to run the business for at least 5 years after his death in 1693 and was protesting an unpaid bill for bakery in 1702 after she had married her second husband, James Hamilton a writer.⁵⁶

This kind of evidence shows that widows kept the business in their own hands. The fact that a widow had to retain or employ a journeyman to perform the actual work in no way detracts from her control of the business. The journeyman would continue to be her servant, something that is brought out in court depositions. In such a deposition regarding the creditors of May Mitchell (Mrs Stewart, wigmaker) in 1745, Alexander Bell is called her servant:

'... Alexander Bell servant to Mrs Stewart did buy the above ribbon and hair and wrought them for the behoof of Mrs Stewart'.⁵⁷ It is particularly underlined by William Youngson, foreman to Helen Pettigrew already noted. His deposition shows that although he was now foreman and responsible for the craftwork it was still seen to be Helen Pettigrew's business: 'William Youngson, servant to the pursuer aged 40 years, married, for 17 years servant now foreman and carries on the pursuer's business...'. Another foreman, William Fraser, had been with John Burnet, tailor, from 1733 until his death in 1775 'and continues with his widow who still carries on the business'.⁵⁸

For a widow to carry on her husband's business, a business which was also her livelihood is understandable. Even when a business was obviously run down or just ticking over the point was often made that the widow intended to keep it going for the sake of her children. A business, especially one with some sort of turn-over and customers, had a better chance of sustaining a livelihood than a new employment for which the widow would have to search for customers. For example, when Katherine Brown's barber husband died she did not give up entirely but 'kept a boy for trimming'.⁵⁹

Although the purpose of this study has been to concentrate on what women were actually doing and on how their work affected their lives something has to be said about their legal position. Many historians have written about this subject in their research on English women and work, especially in the early-modern period. In the case of England some of the problems of researching into women and work have been linked to the married women's legal position vis-a-vis her husband's rights. For example, Lindsay Charles asserts:

'Women as is often pointed out tend to be "invisible" as far as any historical sources are concerned, rarely appearing, or doing so only fleetingly. This is due largely to their subordinate legal and political position which means that they are rarely householders, litigants or guild members. This is particularly so for married women whose rights and identity were largely subsumed under their husbands' and who present the added complication of a changing surname which makes them very difficult to trace, especially through re-marriages'. 60

On the same subject Mary Prior writes:

'under common law femme sole, that is single woman or widow, suffered no legal constraints which would handicap her in her trade. Things were very different for the married woman. Under common law the legal identity of the married woman was merged with that of her husband. The wife was described as femme couverte. Her husband, her baron, was both her "sovereign" and "guardian"....'. 61

In Oxford, as Mary Prior's study has shown, there were three ways of entry into the freedom of the town: by patrimony, apprenticeship and purchase. In London, according to Earle, the custom made provision for married women to trade as individuals; 'The custom converted the wife of a freeman from the servile status of femme couverte into a "femme sole merchant" with the legal rights of

an independent trader'.⁶² In Edinburgh, as discussed in Chapter 1, women were just as important as men as far as passing on burgess rights was concerned, for there were numbers of men who obtained freedom through their wives. T.M. Devine found in an Edinburgh sample that between 1710 and 1720 59 achieved burgess-ship by right of father, 40 by marriage, 31 by apprenticeship and 24 by purchase.⁶³ What is equally important is the fact that women who wished to do so were able to obtain freedom to trade through their husbands, even if the women were engaged in a different kind of employment from their husbands. Evidence of this in the records of the Merchant Company is discussed in Chapter I. There should also be mentioned at this point a case in which the right to trade was acquired through a husband's privilege rather than right: Alexander Shaw, a soldier,

'... privileged by the late act of parliament to trade, doth keep a shop in Edinburgh, at least his wife doeth, and seeing he is not a burgess and his wife is willing to pay what the Company thinks fit, the master and assistant appoint the treasurer to take from her only £9 Scots of fyne and overlook her for some time until further order'.⁶⁴

The wife in this case although not having the benefit of a husband's burgess ticket had the right of his privilege as soldier to trade. What she paid were dues of entry to the Merchant Company.

Although in Scotland, therefore, the legal position of women was basically the same in common law and, in the words of Erskine, 'her person is in some sort sunk by the marriage so that she cannot act by or for herself', the difference between Edinburgh and London

custom was that, because of the way in which freedom to trade was passed on, there was no need for women to be 'converted ... from the servile status of femme coverte into "a femme sole merchant"...'. In fact, women could pass on freedom to as well as acquire it from their husbands.

Another way in which a married woman could work independently of her husband's jus mariti was by means of a pre-nuptial disposition to her, usually by her father, either of property or the wherewithal to carry on a business in her own name. In 1732, when her husband Alexander Swinton died, Mary Alexander protested before the commissary court that his creditors should have no claim on the property disposed to her by her deceased father, Malcolm Alexander, brewer, which in terms of his will had conveyed to her his heritable and moveable property - excluding her husband's jus mariti - which had included the equipment of his brewery. Her protest extended to 'the proceeds thereof arysing from her Carrying on a Separate Trade of Brewing and furnishing ale to her Customers'; her late husband is designated 'clerk of the Canongate'.⁶⁵

A further point of difference between England and Scotland in this respect is the fact that women continued to use their own surnames after marriage, as has already been discussed. Although this need not be exaggerated yet it does point to some continuity in a woman's identity, in spite of Erskine's assertion. This continuity does not appear to have been the case in England where, according to historians, the wife's identity was 'subsumed in that of her husband's'. In the seventeenth century Thomas Morer apparently believed that the retention of the woman's own surname implied that

Scottish women were more independent of their husbands than was the case in England.⁶⁶

Conclusion

In the pre-industrial world a wife's input to the family economy, and thus her shared responsibility for the family's financial welfare, must have given her a status in the community and in the family itself. Bridget Hill has drawn attention to this shared experience of husband and wife in earning their livelihood.

She writes:

'Before the undermining of the family economy had got far the contribution that wives were enabled to make must have meant something approximating to a working partnership with their husbands...'.⁶⁷

Husband and wife in this period formed a partnership in their efforts to ensure their family's economic survival. The evidence in this study shows that husbands themselves accepted that wives were part of the fight for their survival. This shared experience existed whether the wife's employment was in the family business or, as in the case of rousing women, in a separate employment. In the annuity tax return of 1706, which includes the names of shopkeepers responsible for their share of the tax, there is recorded the name of William Abercrombie, an episcopal minister who refused to take the Oath. What is significant about the entry is the fact that, although it was only necessary to record that the tax had been paid, it reads, 'Mr William Abercrombie for Hume', acknowledging the fact that the shopkeeper was his wife, Isobel Hume.⁶⁸ When the merchant

Patrick Murray and his wife Janet Gray took a debtor to court about an unpaid bill, in 1724, Patrick said that the debt was contracted before his marriage and that the merchandise had been bought from his wife. He said he would, therefore, 'adhere to his wife's oath'. In fact, when Janet married him she merely changed shops, moving from her shop in the Exchange to her husband's shop in the Luckenbooths.⁶⁹

There is no doubt that the numbers of married women in employment in Edinburgh is related to the need for subsistence and the vulnerability of family fortunes which in the eighteenth century could change so rapidly; many people even with landed and professional social contacts were only ticking over; it took only one creditor to demand payment and thus bring in other creditors, to bring a family to near-bankruptcy.

At the same time, although work may have been a financial necessity for married women there is no evidence to suggest that married women reflected on the fact that they had to work or wished it was unnecessary, or that they wished to withdraw from participation in the working world, any more than a skinner-husband might have wished to withdraw from what was a particularly nasty job if he could have found wealth any other way.

For many married women as for other eighteenth-century workers, work and survival were two sides of the same coin. This is also suggested by the many references in court processes to the fact that a widow was anxious to carry on for the sake of the family, and by the many newspaper advertisements by widows who were determined to keep the family business going.

The preoccupation with the world of work so evident in the

material used for the purpose of this study, shows that at this period the domestic sphere was much less important, and the claim that women were involved in what was merely an extension of their domestic chores is, certainly in the urban context, irrelevant. In the towns both food and clothing could be had ready-made and did not need to be made at home. Food could be bought at the coffee-house or the pie-bakers depending on the family's financial circumstances. Clothing of all kinds could be bought second-hand. The evidence also suggests that married women in employment made use of wet-nursing services during the child-bearing years. Many of the women shopkeepers who turn up in this study are known to have had infants while involved in their shopkeeping, as the dates of bills show. Many of the women who, in court depositions, are seen standing on the stairs nursing children were probably nursing for money. They would at the same time be able to look after their own children and even those of their neighbours.

In his research into 'The London Female Labour Market' in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, Earle notes that 'one does not read in this period that woman's place is in the home'.⁷⁰ Women were more concerned with working for food than with making it. As Hufton has observed 'domestic chores occupied no one'. It was not until the nineteenth century that the idea of the husband as the sole breadwinner came to be accepted.

Two important questions arise out of this study of married women. In Edinburgh as has been shown many wives of professionals, craftsmen such as goldsmiths, ministers and wives with landed

connections were involved in the working world. The two questions that arise are, (1) when did such women withdraw from work and (2) why did they do so?

A full consideration of these questions is outwith the scope of this study, although they are certainly pertinent to it. The answer to them depends to a large extent on the answer to another question: at what point in the eighteenth century did middle class women feel sufficiently removed from working class women to make working for their living an embarrassment to them? If, as most historians of this subject seem to suggest, the withdrawal of women such as those listed above was linked to a preoccupation with gentility, then the evolution of the urban middle class (in the context of Edinburgh) is a most important part of any discussion of the withdrawal of middle class women from the world of work.

In her paper on 'The Rise of the Urban Middle Class' Stana Nenadic defines middle class in terms of work and income: '[Classes] are defined primarily by economic function (usually represented by occupation) and income which determine status, authority and power:...'. Of work she says: '... middle class work is usually non-manual and involves the application of intellect and direction rather than practical skill or physical effort...', although she acknowledges that master craftsmen, for example, were an important section of the growing middle class. She states: 'It was increasingly expected, from about the 1780s, that women and children should not undertake paid work outside the home...'.⁷¹ This study has shown, however, that the women who were likely to become middle class

in the late eighteenth century had not taken paid work but had been either self-employed (as, for example, shopkeepers, rousing women, graveclothes-makers) or had been involved in the family business.

By Stana Nenadic's definition of middle class, however, there is little doubt that an advocate living in Edinburgh in the 1780s would be included. The question arises, then, as to why the advocate John Polson did not object to his wife continuing her business after she married him. Presumably because at that period (she was still working in 1736) the fact that she was still working did not embarrass him. Indeed, as has been noted earlier, Ann Strachan his wife was commended for her business.⁷² The same could be said of the writer Robert Innes who was worth 10,000 merks when the Poll Tax was levied. Bethia Dundas his wife not only worked during his lifetime but also as his widow. A very interesting question arises as to what may have caused the change in attitudes to work.

If it is accepted that subsistence was the main reason why such women worked, we must then conclude that advocates and writers were a lot better-off in the 1780s than they had been in the 1730s. The same goes for ministers, teachers and other professionals. That ministers were much better-off in the late nineteenth century is open to question, yet it is doubtful if their wives would have taken a job to supplement their stipends.

To say that the break came about the 1780s is really an assertion without real evidence to support it. We simply do not know whether, for example, Edinburgh merchants' wives ceased by the 1780s to assist in the family business. The last two decades of the

eighteenth century have not been well-covered in the present study simply because the records that give significant information on the scale of women's work tend to cover the first half of the century: for example, the preoccupation of the Merchant Company's minutes with the problem of unfree traders.

There is no doubt that as far as haberdashery businesses were concerned male merchants were taking themselves off to the New Town by the end of the century: the South Bridge, Princes Street and George Street. Shopkeeping also changed, becoming more sophisticated. The impressionistic evidence for the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century suggests that male merchants employed a clerk as a permanent member of staff as well as more male shop servants. A letter from James Spittal, younger, to a friend Mr Maule in 1795 asking him to use his influence with a relative to give him a loan which would enable him to go into business, begins, 'I have an immediate prospect of being assumed a partner in the House of Messrs Archibald Gilchrist and Company...'.⁷³ The term House has a very significant ring to it, suggesting a business very different in scale and prestige from many of the merchant businesses in the first half of the century. It may be that men with more capital became involved in the selling of haberdashery and cloth. In 1853 an Englishwoman, Margaret Gregg, observed:

'Men in want of employment have pressed their way into nearly all the shopping and retail businesses that in my early years were managed in whole or in part by women'.⁷⁴

As has already been suggested, the women's employments of rousing and graveclothes-making, for example, may also have disappeared as work-

options for women.

Margaret Gregg's further observation did not apply to Scotland, however, when she claimed that:

'The conventional barrier that pronounces it ungenteeled to be behind the counter, or serving the public in any mercantile capacity, is greatly extended'.⁷⁵

Trade had never been scorned in Scotland. As is well-known, many landed families had begun life as merchants. Robert Blackwood may have sat in his counting house for a good part of the day but not for all of it, for he was perfectly aware of the selling side of his business otherwise he could not have commented as he did on fashionableness or otherwise of his merchandise.⁷⁶ When he gave out his intention to buy land and retire from the mercantile world it was not for reasons of gentility but because it was less vulnerable than trade.

Anglicisation of Edinburgh society cannot be ruled out among those influences which may have caused middle class women to give up work. With so much business involvement with London and social contacts with the growing English community drawn from government servants and the late-eighteenth century military establishment the wives of more prosperous merchants may have been inclined to withdraw from the family business.

Until thorough research has been done into the subject of withdrawal of middle class women from work it should not be taken for granted that they withdrew as quickly as their English counterparts. Even if women withdrew from working in textile-related shops there is a question mark over whether this took place in family businesses connected with the crafts and trades. Many of these businesses

remained small family concerns well beyond 1800. Indeed, even in the twentieth century, until the 1950s, many businesses remained in families: for example, the wives of bakers, coalmerchants, ironmongers, tobacconists and booksellers often took an active part in running the family business. There is much work to be done in the later period, that is from about 1780 to 1830. So far what has been put forward as fact is often mere generalisation. The evidence produced in this study which reveals the scale of married women in employment in the early part of the century makes this even more imperative.

NOTES

1. Edinburgh City Archives: Petitions to the Magistrates, 1685-1708.
2. Ibid., Burgh Court Processes, Box 73, Bundle 184 (1723).
3. Edinburgh Commissary Records (SRO), CC8/4/521 (1754).
4. Ibid. (1769).
5. Ibid., CC8/8/99, 17 February 1739 (Blackwood); CC8/8/96, 20 December 1734 (Baillie).
6. Ibid., CC8/4/518 (1766).
7. Ibid., CC8/8/112/1, 28 January 1749.
8. Ibid., CC8/4/639/3 (1735).
9. Ibid., CC8/8/99, 17 February 1739.
10. Ibid., CC8/6/50 (1788).
11. Ibid., CC8/4/455 (1747).
12. Edinburgh City Archives, Burgh Court Processes, Box 180, Bundle 480.
13. See Table on Page 183 above.
14. (Hay) Edinburgh Commissary Records, CC8/8/109, 25 September 1744; (Pringle) CC8/8/110, 4 April 1746; (Angus) CC8/4/555 (1793); (Kerr) CC8/4/548 (1789); (Drummond), Edinburgh City Archives, Register of Sequestrations and Sales (1785).
15. Edinburgh City Archives, Burgh Court Processes, Box 115, Bundle 291.
16. Ibid., Petitions to the Magistrates, 1685-1708.
17. Ibid., Bundle 161/6230 (1742).
18. Ibid., Burgh Court Processes, Box 140, Bundle 358 (1765).
19. Ibid., Box 115, Bundle 291 (1747).
20. Ibid. (1749).
21. Ibid., Box 114, Bundle 288 (1747).

22. Miscellaneous Collections (SRO): GD 1/121/6-7; Edinburgh City Archives, Burgh Court Processes, Box 180, Bundle 480.
23. P. Earle, 'The female labour market in London in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries', Economic History Review, 2nd series, XLII, 3 (1989), p.338.
24. P. Earle, The Making of the English Middle Class (1989), p.32.
25. Breadalbane Muniments (SRO): GD 112/64/18/19 (1715).
26. Clerk of Penicuik Muniments (SRO): GD 18/2172 (1709).
27. Edinburgh City Archives, Burgh Court Processes, Box 48, Bundle 128, and see Appendix 4.
28. Edinburgh Commissary Records: CC8/4/456 (1748).
29. Ibid., CC8/2/128, 6 December 1765.
30. (Gibson) CC8/6/40 (1782); (Charteris) CC8/8/112/2, 8 March 1749.
31. (Hart) Roll of Edinburgh Burgesses, 10 May 1792, Edinburgh Commissary Records, CC8/4/556 (1794); (Sheills) CC8/8/94 (1731).
32. Records of the Merchant Company of Edinburgh, Minute Book, 1704-14.
33. Ibid., Minute Book, 1696-1704.
34. Edinburgh City Archives, Burgh Court Processes, Box 61, Bundle 155 (1718); Merchant Company Records, Minute Book, 1704-14.
35. Edinburgh City Archives, Burgh Court Processes, Box 34, Bundle 96 (1702); Box 48, Bundle 127 (1711); Box 48, Bundle 126 (1711); Dundas of Dundas Muniments (SRO); GD 75/312 (1791).
36. Edinburgh City Archives, Moses Bundle, 151/5866 (1716); Edinburgh Commissary Records, CC8/4/293 (1726).
37. Bridget Hill, Women, Work and Sexual Politics in Eighteenth-Century England (1989), pp. 92-4; Ivy Pinchbeck, Women Workers and the Industrial Revolution, 1750-1850, p.,293. (1930)
38. Court of Session Records (SRO): CS 231/E/1/29.
39. Central Region Archives: PD7/10/13 (1763).
40. Ibid.; Records of Tailors Incorporation of Edinburgh (SRO), GD 1/12/68, 19 December 1752, 6 February 1763.
41. Edinburgh Commissary Records: CC8/4/493 (1755); CC8/2/128.

42. Register House Series (SRO), RH 15/185; Edinburgh City Archives, Burgh Court Processes, Box 63, Bundle 161.
43. Edinburgh Commissary Records: CC8/4/356 (1733).
44. Ibid., CC8/4/479 (1751).
45. Edinburgh City Archives, Burgh Court Processes, Box 140, Bundle 358 (1764).
46. Edinburgh Commissary Records, CC8/8/92 (1729); Burgh Court Processes, Box 93, Bundle 234; see also Appendices 1 and 4, below.
47. See Appendix 4, below.
48. Edinburgh Commissary Records, CC8/4/639/2.
49. Edinburgh City Archives, Burgh Court Processes, Box 180, Bundle 479.
50. Edinburgh Commissary Records, CC8/4/545 (1788).
51. Ibid., CC8/4/466 (1749).
52. Ibid., CC8/4/518 (1766).
53. Edinburgh City Archives, Burgh Court Processes, Box 93, Bundle 233.
54. Edinburgh Commissary Records, CC8/4/532 (1775).
55. Edinburgh City Archives, Sederunt Book of the Incorporation of Baxters of Canongate, 2 March 1753.
56. Edinburgh City Archives, Burgh Court Processes, Box 34, Bundle 94 (1696).
57. Edinburgh Commissary Records: CC8/4/463 (1745).
58. Ibid., CC8/4/532 (1776).
59. Edinburgh City Archives, Petitions to the Magistrates, 1685-1708.
60. L. Charles and L. Duffin, Women and Work in Pre-Industrial England (1985), p.10.
61. M. Prior, 'Women and the urban economy: Oxford, 1500-1800', in M. Prior, ed. Women in English Society, 1500-1800, pp.102-3.
62. P. Earle, The Making of the English Middle Class, p.160.

63. T.M. Devine, 'The Merchant Class in the Larger Scottish Towns...', in G. Gordon and B. Dicks, Scottish Urban History (1983), p.103.
64. Merchant Company Minutes, 1704-14.
65. Edinburgh Commissary Records: CC8/8/95 (8 November 1732); CC8/4/639/2.
66. R.A. Houston, 'Women in the Economy and Society of Scotland, 1500-1800', in R.A. Houston and I.D. Whyte, Scottish Society, 1500-1800 (1989), p.139.
67. Bridget Hill, Women, Work and Sexual Politics..., p.46.
68. Edinburgh City Archives, Roll of Annuity and Poor's Money, 1706.
69. Ibid., Burgh Court Processes, Box 73, Bundle 183 (1720).
70. P. Earle, 'The female labour market in London...', p.346.
71. S. Nenadic, 'The Rise of the Urban Middle Class', in T. Devine and R. Mitchison, People and Society in Scotland, 1760-1830 (1988), pp. 110-11.
72. Edinburgh Commissary Records, CC8/4/507 (1754); and see, Chapter 3, p. 169 above.
73. Henderson of Fordell Muniments (SRO): GD 172/1637 (1795).
74. A. Adburgham, Shops and Shopping, 1800-1914 (1964), pp. 26-7.
75. Ibid.
76. See Chapter 1, pp. 44-5.

CHAPTER FIVE

WOMEN AND POVERTYIntroduction

In the eighteenth century the financial vulnerability of the credit system affected almost everyone for at times of crisis such as a war (for example, the '45 Rising, the American and Napoleonic wars) the better-off who suddenly found themselves with financial problems put pressure on the poor. For example, when a landlord needed money he could turn to his tenants and put up the rents. Tenants who were unable to pay could be removed and new tenants who were able and willing to pay taken in. This is reflected in the many surviving petitions in which help is asked for those who had been virtually thrown out on the street along with their families. Many of the processes of sequestration that survive in the City archives and elsewhere were requested by creditors because of rent arrears. As will be discussed below, the possibility of finding themselves with nowhere to live was a constant threat to the poor, particularly to women.

The employments examined for the purpose of this study have been in the main continuous employments. There were jobs, however, which were taken on particularly by poor women which may be described as casual or intermittent. In the city there must have been vast numbers of seamstresses, and although such work was not strictly casual, in that many women were engaged only in this job, yet for some at least it could be intermittent in that their help might only

be asked in times of extraordinary work which had to be completed within a certain time or at a particularly busy season. Another employment of the very poor with no particular skills or capital was washing, and although from the evidence it would seem that many women engaged in it saw this work as a continuous employment, there is no doubt that just as many women took in washing at times of particular financial crisis in order to eke out family subsistence. However, not only the very poor could find themselves in a crisis; even the established shopkeeper could find herself in debt and end up in prison.

There were many circumstances which could lead to poverty to which women were particularly vulnerable. Periods of high male unemployment could lead to a husband's going off in search of work. There are frequent instances of financial help being given by the Town Council to women and their families to enable them to join their husbands. Many wives, however, had to stay put and make the best of the situation. Others had to live a one-parent existence with responsibility for several children while their husbands were in the army or at sea. Some women did not hear from their husbands for years and some husbands simply never returned. In such cases women took in washing or sewing and did the best they could.

Another fear that both men and women had to live with in the eighteenth century was that of illness, not only because simple illnesses could become serious quite quickly but because to be sick was expensive. It is not surprising that many surgeons' bills lay unpaid for years. Illness could also mean the end of employment. Another hazard which could affect people financially was the high

incidence of fire in this period. In a built-up area like Edinburgh fire was a constant threat, petitions showing that inhabitants not only lost their goods and merchandise but were sometimes maimed for life and rendered unable to work in trying to save them.

In really hard times there were some sources of relief, but these sources were not open to everyone. Men who were in work and who were members of an Incorporation, such as the Tailors, Shoemakers or Surgeons, or who were members of the Merchant Company could obtain relief for their wives and young children; as will be shown, however, adult daughters did not receive benefit from all of these sources. Widows of members could get some relief from the Incorporations and Merchant Company. However, it is not clear how well the wives, widows and families of journeymen fared in this respect. During the eighteenth century many Charity Boxes were set up by journeymen tailors, shoemakers and other crafts and trades. These boxes were not always looked upon favourably however by the Incorporations, who were aware that such small organisations of journeymen for the relief of their poor might grow into something much larger and become a force of opposition to the Incorporations themselves.¹ In 1741, for example, the Town Council refused to allow the Chairmen to maintain a Box for their poor separate from that of the Chairmasters.² However, since journeymen's wages were on the whole small it is unlikely that help in the form of money could have amounted to much and a great deal depended on the circumstances of those asking for relief as to whether they received relief or not.

Poor relief from the Kirk Session normally went to widows, orphans, those in sudden distress for various reasons, to the insane

and to those with physical disabilities. The great weakness of the poor relief system was that it did not acknowledge the plight of the 'able-bodied' poor who could not find work or had difficulty in getting it because they had been unable to pay for learning a trade, craft or some other skill. The system also failed to acknowledge the low level of wages which made subsistence impossible, something which will be discussed later.

For those who had no legal right the impossibility of becoming a burgess was very real. For many who had served an apprenticeship and thereafter became journeymen the purchase of burgess rights was a costly affair. As James Houston said, although he had served prentice he had never been able to afford to become a burgess. One man said he had spent his wife's tocher on becoming a burgess and was now in financial straits. However, as has been noted in Chapter 1, the Town Council were willing to hand out licences to trade to help some women to survive, especially those with children to support. This, however, was probably done to prevent such women asking for charity. It was a practice which annoyed the officials of the Merchant Company.

Relief provided by the Town was pragmatic and intermittent and the method of collecting it was haphazard. On occasion the Magistrates would demand that a special collection be taken at the kirk door, at times of particular crisis. At other times money for relief was provided from fines in the burgh court. For example, in a case of scandal involving two women in the Greens Market the fine was to go to help those who had suffered in a recent fire in the Cowgate.³ Edinburgh in fact resisted assessment throughout the

eighteenth century.

The poor who had no rights and no provision of any kind such as relief from an Incorporation or poor's box, simply used every means in their power to keep themselves from sequestration and prison: personal and family clothes were pawned and pledged, the clothes of others were stolen - unpicked and re-sewed as a safeguard against identification. When they were to be sequestered the poor clandestinely removed their goods and belongings to the houses of friends and neighbours in an attempt to save something with which to survive.

As will be discussed below, however, not only the very poor could end up in prison. Even those with rights could, like the really poor, find themselves pined, sequestered, removed from their homes and find themselves incarcerated in the burgh Tolbooth. Those in authority in Scotland, however, acknowledged the vulnerability of a credit economy in which the demand for payment by one creditor could result in the demands of all the creditors at the same time. As a result of this acknowledgement special provision was made for bankrupts in the Act of Grace and cessio bonorum (see page 268, below) and, for those who moved swiftly, the sanctuary of Holyrood.

It is now proposed to look at these various aspects of poverty in relation to women.

* * * *

In eighteenth-century Edinburgh, apart from service and ale-selling, the two most common employments for poorer women (not previously discussed in detail) were probably those of washerwoman and seamstress. A washerwoman had some outlay for her work as she needed soap, coal (for heating water) and some basic equipment such as a tub of some kind. When in 1784 Christian Menzies was sequestrated for rent arrears the contents of her house included 2 tubs and a folding table, the latter probably for ironing on.⁴ Some women may have rented accommodation in which to wash. For example, a note in the Minutes of the Canongate Baxters' Incorporation shows that poor women had rented houses belonging to the Incorporation; it was claimed that the lofts above these houses, used by the Baxters to store their grain, were endangered by fire because of the women working below, probably because they were using fires of some description to heat the water. In the end these women were removed by the Baxters and the houses also turned into stores.⁵

Bills in family papers show that many landed families hired Edinburgh washerwomen while they lodged in the city during the winter season. That such families probably gave their linens to the same washerwoman, providing her with regular customers, is suggested by a court case in which a witness on that occasion deponed that a washerwoman, Janet Barclay, was,

'... the defunct's ordinary washerwoman for these several years past ... did wash and make clean all the foul linens and others in the family ... and further (the deponent) has carried to and from the defunct's house a great number of burdens of cloaths foul and clean...'. 6

An interesting short letter from a washerwoman, Janet Sharp, has survived among the household papers of the Campbells of Barcaldine:

'Sir,

I hope you will not take it amiss the freedom that I am using wt you as I am not going into servise and (? silb) to stay in Edinburgh. I would be very much obliged to you if you would be so good as give me your linnens to wash and dress be so good as send an answer and driet [direct] for Janet Sharp at Mr Blackwoods head of the Cowgat'. 7

This letter may suggest that Mr Alexander Campbell, to whom it was addressed, and who probably knew Janet Sharp as she had washed for his family in Edinburgh, had asked her to go into service at his home in the country. From payments to servants it appears that the landed classes sometimes had a washerwoman who boarded in the house as a permanent washer of the household's linens. However, Janet Sharp may have preferred her freedom in Edinburgh, preferring to wash for several families whom she knew rather than live in a household with the restrictions that would entail. On the other hand she may have decided to go into service and then changed her mind, deciding to carry on in Edinburgh, and was therefore anxious to keep Mr Campbell's custom.

Some bills suggest that when a washerwoman was found to be reliable it was worthwhile sending linens into Edinburgh to be washed and dressed there. Lady Dirleton's linens, for example, were washed by two Edinburgh sisters, Margaret Greig (Mrs Paton) and Ann Greig.⁸ Their bill runs from July 1761 to August 1762. The extent of the washing done shows that this was not done only during the winter season when Lady Dirleton may have been living in Edinburgh, or

during any other short stay there, although she may originally have made contact with the Greigs when staying there. This bill is meticulously detailed out and was probably copied by a clerk out of a daybook. The women only charged one penny for ironing a petticoat of which 40 had been washed and dressed during the period. There were also 230 score of 'small peices washed at 2d per score'. These prices were being charged at a period when a handbox from a milliner cost 3d. It is not surprising that some women complained that they could not make ends meet by taking in washing.

It may seem surprising that such meticulous accounts were kept by washerwomen. It has to be remembered that every piece, even 'small peices' had to be accounted for to their owners, and when the numbers of garments that these women were dealing with are taken into account it can be appreciated that the greatest care had to be taken to record each charge. This was to safeguard not only the customers' clothes but to make sure that bills were correctly detailed and that the washerwoman received exact payment. Not every washerwoman could write or even sign her name, but neighbours and others would be called to witness her mark. Margaret Fletcher who washed for the laird of Drumelzier asked two merchants to witness her mark.⁹

When a court action took place washerwomen's servants would witness for them. When Sir Thomas Calder died, Ann MacLean's bill for washing had not been paid. Helen Wood, a tailor's wife, who was called as a witness, deponed that 'Ann MacLean ... was in use of washing and dressing and mending Sir Thomas's linens, that she has seen the said Ann MacLean get out his linens foul and bring them home clean'.¹⁰

Not only the well-off had their linens washed, however; even small shopkeepers had their own linens washed for them. Betty Pillans, a milliner, although washing and dressing for other people sent her own linen to a washerwoman. This was no doubt in order to save time as she would be fully occupied with her own work. In fact, she had some of her linen stolen from a washerwoman.¹¹ The stealing of clothes in the eighteenth century was a great hazard that the washerwomen had to live with. One washerwoman had a bundle of clothes stolen from her at the door of a merchant's shop. Another, Jean Reid, had washing stolen which she had laid out to dry on 'Herriots green'. She had to pay for the clothes although the price put on them by the owner was modified by the court since it was claimed that they were old. The washerwomen were themselves sometimes accused of stealing clothes. Rachael Lauriston was incarcerated in the Edinburgh Tolbooth at the instance of Agnes Mack for 'stealing linens and other things she was entrusted wt'. She was liberated the next day, after Andrew Clark, a shoemaker, had stood caution for her; Andrew Clark signed by his mark.¹²

Sometimes washing might be used as a means of payment. Mrs Muir washed for a merchant and his wife in lieu of the house rent which she owed them. Janet Brown washed clothing to be sold at a roup, and an unnamed washerwoman washed the clothes of 52 persons living in the Trinity Hospital. A Mrs Livingston who turns up in the sequestrations in 1708 is called callander woman. This may mean that she only performed actual callandering and may have taken in linen already washed, such as sheets and tablecovers. It may be significant that the rent arrears for which she was sequestrated were

due to Ebenezer Gardner a linen manufacturer who had let the house to her; the year's rent was £4 10s of which she had only paid half. She may have been callandering for Gardner; a callander appears on the list of kitchen furniture. The bailies allowed Gardner to have the contents of her house roused, including her means of survival, the callander itself. There is no way of telling whether she was able to buy it back or not. The fact that Gardner petitioned the bailies because, so he claimed, the furniture and effects were in danger of being 'abstracted and embezzled', may suggest that Mrs Livingston had tried to dispose of the callander before Gardner got his hands on it.¹³

Seamstresses are more difficult than washerwomen to identify. Those identified have usually turned up in commissary court processes as witnesses. This is because such women who were working for graveclothes-makers for example, worked in the house of the pursuer in the particular case. Isobel Blacadder worked in the house of the graveclothes-maker Barbara Cowan and may well have lived permanently in the house as an assistant to her. Sarah Chisholm, who worked for another graveclothes-maker, said she was employed 'frequently at different times'.¹⁴ Working in a household meant that a seamstress saved on her own coal and candle; although candle would be required mainly in winter, many houses probably became dark in the evening even in summer. There is no doubt, however, that poor women with children would prefer to take in sewing. Washing, dressing and some sewing were often combined as an employment in the case of the poor. Mary Molliner combined sewing with roomsetting. Many of the

seamstresses, or sewsters (the word was still occasionally used in the eighteenth century) were making up shirts, which were highest on the list of garments sewed. One woman 'turned' 9 shirts, charging 8d each. Other garments made in large numbers were stocks and women's shifts. As in the case of the washerwomen many seamstresses probably had regular 'employers'. Like the washerwomen they had sometimes to take customers to court for non-payment of bills. In 1723 a seamstress Anna Forrester, raised an action in the Burgh Court against five customers for unpaid bills. One of the bills is headed, 'Ane account for shewen':

'for shewen and dressing ane head	8 - 0
dressing two heads	2 - 0
2 gravats shewing	14 - 0
2 stocks making	3 - 0
neke and slives	6 - 0
making ane shirt and buttons	8 - 0
ane holland apron and knicens	5 - 0
2 plain nepkins and dressing	3 - 0

These amounts would be in Scots money. Some customers may have provided their own linen, but the names of several seamstresses in the ledger of a linen manufactory shows that some women had to lay out the expense of the linen first. Thread and needles would also have to be purchased.¹⁵

There was bound to have been a great deal of casual work, that is temporary work, which helped people out in a crisis. For example, a merchant had to call in a woman to act as a servant at short notice when his lodger took ill and his own servant was required to look after her. In another instance a shopkeeper who became ill asked a woman to look after her shop until she recovered, and there was a case of a woman who, having been incarcerated for debt, paid a woman to look after her children while she was in gaol. One petitioner to the Orphan Hospital, a widow with several children, explained that she 'earned a few pence of and on from sewing up pamphlets'.¹⁶

A small shop was probably one of the most common ways of earning a living, even for the poor, throughout the century. Once the Merchant Company became less vigilant (from about the 1730s) and with the Town Council willing to hand out licences to the poor, small shops must have helped many poor people to survive, especially those selling grocery-type goods. Jean Low, for example, 'finding she had a child by a servant of Lord Napier, had to do something for a livelihood so took a small shop in the Canongate'. That there are also significant numbers of poor widows with rights in the burgh who petitioned the Town Council for renewal of tacks bear out this point. These renewals were not only requested in the early eighteenth century but throughout the period. Margaret More 'possessed' a shop which was 'advertised to be sett by roup but as the petitioner would willingly have a tack for herself in her own name she was satisfied to give a yearly tack duty of £16 Scots...', and Christian Sandilands said that 'as a means of support to her' she would 'gladly take a

tack in her own name...'. Grizel Weir, relict of John Cockburn, merchant and later clerk to the butter-weighhouse,

'left in very mean circumstances in charge of children that can do nothing for themselves, having no means of livelihood for herself and family except the shift she makes in a little shop joined to the south side of the weighhouse belonging to the good town presently possessed by her, not wanting to be burdensome asks that she be granted a tack during her life time and permission to extend the shop at her own expense'. She was asked to pay £12 Scots yearly; the Dean of Guild having visited the shop stated that it could be extended 'five foots westward within the gutter-stone upon the south side of the butter weighhouse stair'. 17

Women with poorly paid employment also made sure that they received all the 'perks' that went along with it. Like Mary Adamson they made sure that the promised gown, apron or shoes were also forthcoming. As has been observed, however, these items were sometimes paid in money; mournings to a servant maid was preferred in cash than kind. When Archibald Napier died the meeting of his creditors was informed that,

'... it is customary to give mournings to the servants when the head of the family dies and the Napiers servant requests that the trustees will give some consideration to her on that account...'. 18

She was given 3 guineas in place of mournings. The sick-nurse was to have 'the flannels that were about the person of Mr Napier when he died'. 18

There is evidence to suggest that many poor women sold for others, but it is impossible to assess the scale of this kind of employment. In a petition asking for a reduction in her payment towards the Annuity Tax Widow Walker stated that she kept herself and children by selling herring for another woman. Katherine Blair sold

fabric for a woman from Bo'ness. Peter Johnston, a lint-dresser, raised an action in the burgh court against several women who appear to have been given barrels of beef to sell; several of them were widows. Other processes suggest that women sold for other shopkeepers. Andrew Fleuker, an Edinburgh merchant, took Katherine Seton (called merely 'residenter' in Edinburgh) to court for non-payment of merchandise. The bill suggests that she was selling the goods for him and was not herself a shopkeeper; in the account it is stated at one point, 'gave you some goods of which you sold $4\frac{1}{2}$ ells black silk stuff to Mr Thomas Wilson in Leith at 6s 8d per ell...'. In an instance recorded in the Minutes of the Merchant Company in 1710 Katherine Brown had poided from her a piece of muslin and some napkins. It was claimed that she 'frequently makes a trade from selling goods in town belonging to free and sometimes unfree traders'. The muslin had been given to her by Helen Adam (Mrs Rattray) who asserted that she gave Katherine Brown the muslin to sell for her and that 'the said Katherine Brown being very poor and frequently about her house she gives her some small thing such as a penny upon an ell for her trouble'. The muslin was returned to Helen Adam but Katherine Brown, although she compeared personally and 'asserted that she never sells goods for anybody but Mrs Rattray ... which she buys to make a penny upon her maintenance ...', was told not to sell in future or be fined.¹⁹ Selling for others, the evidence suggests, was resorted to by those with no burgess rights.

As has been noted in the Introduction, there were many circumstances that could lead to a woman's finding herself in

poverty. In the case of single women the very fact of being in business could itself lead to serious financial problems. For those in low paid jobs, inability to pay their rent could lead to sequestration with nowhere to live. Married women with the addition of a family to maintain could find themselves in straitened circumstances when husbands went off to find work, when male unemployment was high or wages too low to meet the cost of living.

The most basic necessity was a place to live, women being particularly vulnerable in this respect. It was said of a man, John Anderson, that he 'slept about the place and a woman gave him his meat'. Such a situation was impossible for women, for in such circumstances a woman would have been immediately suspect. The only possibility for single women or widows without families who were left without a roof over their heads was to go into service. When Elizabeth Innes became bankrupt she declared, 'I have a trunk in John Malloch's house and have no debts resting to me by any person whatsoever nor furniture having never had a house'.²⁰ Married women with children might end up in a garret. In a petition to the magistrates a woman who had been put out of her home complained

'the landlord came in upon your petitioner in a most inhuman manner and seized my wearing clothes and my poor young child and our bed and turned me out of the door and my poor babe with me and took the keys of the house with him and therefore put me in a miserable condition that I have not my clothes to put on me nor my bed to lye on and now the petitioner leaving to go to Holland to her husband who is in the fleet only [asks] for money to redeem her clothes and her passage to Holland'.²¹

There is evidence that families who could not make ends meet might even have had to separate. A weaver who was unable to maintain his

family stated in a petition to the Town Council that his children were being sent to the country, his wife was going into service while he himself was going to lodge with his master.²² Not all husbands who went off looking for work deserted their families. Financial aid to wives to enable them to go to their husbands is often referred to in the records of the Town Council; Mrs Kyle was given money to enable her to go to her husband at York, Christian Murray, wife of James Carmichael, barber, was given £2 to carry her to her husband in London. Other women were given help to go to friends: Agnes Angus was given help 'to go to England to her friends', Jean Menzies, widow of William Hamilton, was given £1 'to enable her to return to England', and the treasurer to the Dean of Guild was ordered to pay 'a guinea and a half to any skipper that shall transport to London Isobel Polson, spouse of - and her child on a certificate of the said transportation by the skipper on his return'.²³ No doubt the magistrates preferred to help such people on their way rather than have to pay them poor relief if they remained in Edinburgh. Some women took the matter into their own hands. Ann Gordon, who owed arrears of rent to Esther Chrystal, broker and rousing-woman, went off to London in a coach and sent some of her belongings by sea. There were some things left in the house, however, which were roused to pay her arrears.²⁴

A plea was often made in court on behalf of widows about the necessity of their remaining in their homes in order to carry on business without which they would be totally without the necessities of life. In the case of a widow who was a roomsetter faced with her late husband's creditors, it was claimed on her behalf that the sale

of her furniture would deprive her of the means of earning her living, as she could not set rooms without it. In another instance it was stated for a tailor's widow who was being dunned by creditors, that she had been '... advised to continue her husband's business for the support of herself and her family, and this it is plain could not well be done if she and they were to be suddenly turned out of doors'. It was also stated on her behalf that she had been advised to 'confirm' the furniture in order to 'keep a house above her head for the bringing up of her children'.²⁵

The fact that rents were due at most half-yearly, probably meant that those who were hard-pressed for money spent what they did earn on such basics as food and coal for cooking. For poor women who had to wait for the payment of their bills, for washing or sewing, for example, finding money in the meantime must have been a nightmare. Katherine Muir, harrassed by her landlord in 1747, pleaded, 'I have more than will pay him of work among my hands if I get time to finish it'.²⁶

Possible sources of relief for those in financial difficulties were the funds of the Merchant Company and those of Incorporations such as the tailors, shoemakers, surgeons and goldsmiths, although relief from these was restricted to members, their widows and orphans; in straitened circumstances male members might be given temporary relief for themselves and their families. Relief was also provided by the Town Council. The circumstances in question were usually funerals, accidents, illness and the devastating effects of the numerous fires in the capital. The Incorporation of goldsmiths gave help to a member whose landlady had threatened to turn him out

and, at another time, gave help to James Tait, goldsmith, when he and his family were said to be in 'very low circumstances'.²⁷ Relief from the Town might also be given in a particular crisis, such as the loss of merchandise or personal injury sustained in a fire, or as in the case of a merchant's wife who was given charity 'in respect of her great need being near the time of her delivery'.

The number of petitions from widows asking for financial help to defray the cost of their husbands' funerals suggests that many people, even among the burgess community, had few resources to meet such a crisis. On 10 May 1737 Sybilla Lyon, widow of Charles Dickson, goldsmith, was given £5 sterling for funeral expenses, her husband 'being suddenly dead'.²⁸ An entry in the Minutes of the goldsmiths' Incorporation for 1744 notes a petition from Jean Blair

'the relict of Thomas Kay setting furth that the burying of her husband her own inlying and putting her child to nurse has put her to great charge and will cost more...'.²⁹

She was to be given £2 sterling to have the child nursed. It is interesting that these two women, Sybilla Lyon and Jean Blair, turn up as rousing-women in the 1740s and 1750s. It may be that the wife of Thomas Kay wished to continue her work and therefore had her child wet-nursed; although she does not turn up as a rousing-woman until 1749 it is quite possible that she had been in this employment for some time. This may also be true of Sybilla Lyon (Mrs Dickson) who in 1738, a year after her husband's death, gave in another petition 'setting furth her low circumstances' as a result of which she was enrolled as one of the Incorporation's pensioners at £12 Scots quarterly. She may therefore have been receiving the pension while

employed as a rousing-woman between 1741 and 1754 the year in which she died. Even before her husband's death his family seem to have been in poor circumstances as Charles Dickson himself had asked that their daughter Clementina might be given a place in the Trades Maiden Hospital. It was not unusual for goldsmiths to ask to have daughters presented to the Hospital; Colin Campbell asked for his daughter at the same time as Charles Dickson, while William Gilchrist's circumstances were so bad that his daughter was given a place before Clementina Dickson.³⁰ It is a mystery why so many goldsmiths should have had financial problems. Certainly, a good number of the Incorporation were said to be in 'very poor circumstances'. Even if it is widows who are asking for help, it seems strange that their goldsmith husbands should have left them so badly-off.

The Merchant Company did not give help to the daughters of members when they became adult, those who were said to be 'insane' excepted. In a petition for charity on behalf of Margaret Walker it was agreed that, since in her case she had on account of her insanity returned to a state of pupillarity, they would submit the petition to the next general meeting. At the meeting it was agreed that she should have relief but 'that the present resolution not to make a precedent unless in the case of insanity'.³¹ The only unmarried daughters to receive charity were those who had been members of the Company. For example it is recorded in the Minutes in 1721 that Margaret MacHendry who had been a shopkeeper in the Exchange 'paid quarter dues to this hall but is now old and infirm and out of all

business and is in very hard circumstances. The Master and Assistant order the Treasurer to pay to petitioner 20s sterling for her subsistence'.³²

There is evidence to show, however, that some Incorporations did give relief to unmarried daughters. In the Minutes of the Incorporation of Surgeons a widow, Henrietta Johnston, and her daughter were allowed £1 10s per quarter.³³ In the Goldsmiths' Minutes for 16 February 1731 Agnes Forbes, daughter of George Forbes, goldsmith, was allowed a pension of £6 Scots a quarter and Lilius Law, daughter of William Law, goldsmith, a pension of £10 Scots quarterly, on 21 November 1758 Rachael Blair, daughter of Charles Blair, goldsmith, was given 20s sterling and James Yorston's daughter, was given the same amount. The circumstances of these women, however, was 'to be looked into'.³⁴

Much of the charity given by the Incorporations and Merchant Company appears to be haphazard, dealt with a particular crisis and was granted on petition. The same applied to the Kirk Session and the Town Council's charitable payments. An entry in the Merchant Company Minutes notes in answer to a petition from Margaret Cockburn, widow of John Lindsay, merchant, that 'considering she is very old and infirm and will probably not trouble the Company any more grant her 14s sterling'.³⁵ At one point the Company made it plain that extending their charity was 'on account of the weather and scarcity of vivers and shall not be drawn into a precedent'. Some petitioners were told categorically not 'to trouble the Company any more'. Some members of the Goldsmiths' Incorporation were told not to apply for another year. In the Surgeons' Incorporation when Helen

Adam (Mrs Rattray) applied for relief it was noted in the Minutes 'in consideration of her deplorable situation and promising not to trouble the Incorporation again they authorise the treasurer to pay her £1 sterling'.³⁶ As relief was given on petition and since petitions had to be put before a meeting, petitioners had often to wait for some time; an entry in the Goldsmiths' Minutes for example reads, 'Mrs Donaldson is to be advanced her Lammas pension in regard she is in prison', suggesting that some help came too late.³⁷

It is difficult to assess just how financially healthy these institutions were. No doubt they all had a heavy demand on their funds at times, when there were food shortages, for example, or during the winter when coal and candle were vital necessities and illness more likely due to the inclement weather that normally hit the Capital. Sometimes poverty was so self-evident that it could not be denied. For example, when Alexander Walker came to the Merchant Company pleading for relief it was noted in the Minutes that although he was not a member yet 'out of compassion [they] gave between 19 and 20 shillings out of their own pockets'.

On the 18 April 1743 a note in the minutes of the Canongate Baxters records that they were going to look into the state of their funds on 'consideration of the late disaster that happened to the Incorporation of Tailors and Shoemakers here [Canongate] through the ignorance or neglect of the affairs of their own societies'.³⁸ This refers to the sudden bankruptcy of the Canongate Tailors and Shoemakers which must have caused some panic among the members of other Incorporations as to the state of their own funds. How far journeymen and their families could depend on such funds is also

difficult to assess. As has been noted in the Introduction to this Chapter, by the eighteenth century charity boxes for journeymen had increased but it is unlikely that the funds were in any way substantial.

When the crafts took on the duty of sustaining their own poor in 1564/5 it is recorded in the Minutes of the Town Council that the deacon of the tailors on behalf of the crafts,

'oblist him and thame to sustene the hale pure of
all occupatiounis within this burgh, sic as craftis-
men, craftismenis wyffis, servandis and wedois, upoun
thair awin proper chargeis fra this day furth...' 39

The outcome of this it was claimed would be that '... the gud toun nor nane resortand thairto salbe trublit with thair purys...'. The latter claim was also made by the Society of Journeymen Shoemakers in 1772 when they sent in answers to David Stewart, journeyman shoemaker, who had raised an action in the burgh court for 'stroking' him off the Society for working while receiving sick benefit. They set out that,

'In the year 1727 the journeymen shoemakers entered into a Friendly Society for the mutual support of one another... By the observance of which and proper management great numbers of Ordinary tradesmen as well as their widows have been supported and the Town of Edinburgh exeemed from that burden'.

They claimed that,

1. Every member unable to work received 5s sterling weekly.
2. If a member died £3 was allowed for his funeral with £1 sterling to his widow for a mourning gown.
3. If a member's wife died he was allowed £2 sterling towards her funeral.
4. When the widow of a member died her friends were allowed 40s towards her funeral, adding 'Whereby the Town of Edinburgh never are burdened with any of their poor'.

The claim, however, that their poor were thus not a burden on the good town of Edinburgh was denied by David Stewart in his Replies.

In the Answers it had been alleged that the Society

'had in their answers in several particulars gone aside from the truth', for with regard to widows receiving money 'it has never been known nor is it in their power to prove that they ever give any Moiety out of their funds after the above 20/- for the relief of the Widows or Children of their deceased Members let them have been in Never Such a starving Condition'. 40

This does underline the fact that widows, for example, or their families may not have been able to depend on an actual pension which would be paid with some continuity. However, members, especially widows, of such societies and incorporations did have some advantage over those poor with no work-connections whatsoever. The question is, How did such poor people, women in particular, survive?

The consequences of poverty in the Capital were noted by the Collector of the poor's money and seat rents for 1739-40 as he visited each home where the arrears of rent had not been paid:

'Extremely poor; miserably poor; wants money from the town; very poor woman, nothing to be got; subsists on charity; John Yule died of hunger; bankrupt; dead poor; put off the town nothing to be got; very poor and old; turned poor; gone bankrupt; dead a beggar; Daniel McIver never found; Mrs Ballantyne subsists by friends; disabled for work; Hugh Hogg taylor very poor and old; died miserably poor; poor and many children; blind and poor pensioner; subsists on charity; died of hunger'. 41

Although these comments were made about the poor of Edinburgh about the middle of the century, petitions to the Orphan Hospital in the 1780s show that for the very poor nothing had changed. Without access even to a small Friendly Society life could be traumatic. Great distress could be experienced through unemployment, illness,

mounting debts at grocers and baxters for food, rent arrears, funeral expenses, necessities for infants including the midwife's fees, and clothing for older children. In these circumstances the poor resorted to their own means of self-help.

Pawning clothes and other goods has a long history and was not new in the eighteenth century. What is striking, however, is the way in which the poor used pledging as a kind of common currency when they had no actual cash. Pledging of clothing and other goods appears to have been used not only by the poor but also by the middle-class throughout the eighteenth century. The practice of pledging as currency normally took place between two parties. Details of this practice came to light while examining legal papers relating to the actions of creditors who asked permission to have the pledges roused in lieu of the unpaid debt. Some better-off members of the community tended to pledge goods for ready cash or coin which in the eighteenth century was in short supply. For the really poor, however, pledging was a necessity which was often used in a particular crisis; one woman pledged a gown to buy linen from another woman in order to make a shirt to go into the Infirmary. Evidence suggests that clothes were kept for the specific purpose of getting cash. For example, a widow, Isobel Kippie, pledged to John McCutcheon, a tailor, several goods and articles of clothing as surety for money she had borrowed from him.⁴² McCutcheon, however, sometime later required the money she had borrowed and threatened to apply to the court to have the goods roused. Isobel Kippie then went to a merchant, Patrick Todd, and asked him to advance her £5 10s

sterling so that she could pay McCutcheon. This Todd did, upon which she recovered her goods from McCutcheon and gave them to Todd, 'and desired him to take the said goods for his security which she said should remain with him as a pledge till he should be repaid as aforesaid...'. The impression from this kind of evidence is that such goods were used as a kind of credit system and were carefully looked after as an investment. For example, the goods in this particular case consisted of 4 pairs of linen sheets, 4 'worse tablecloths', 15 ells of ticking, 20 yards of linen, 14 yards of coarse linen cloth, a 'bed twilt' [quilt], a twilled coat, and 2 'coarse tablecloths for wrappers'. Other instances indicate that such goods were wrapped carefully as though to keep them in good condition. Mrs Forbes pledged 'a pair of new stays with tabbie [a plain-weave fabric] breasts with a table napkin about the stays', and 'a new tartan gown with a table napkin about it'.⁴³

Interest on borrowed money is not always indicated but no doubt the parties did agree on a rate. Janet McLean paid interest on the £24 Scots she had borrowed from a schoolmaster, Robert Cowan. She had pledged him a fine striped silk gown and petticoat. Although there does not appear to have been anything written down when many of these transactions took place, those involved usually brought in a witness; in the last case cited the witness was the wife of a distiller.⁴⁴ In another case Isobel Fraser, a widow, pledged a petticoat and 15 ells of damask stuff for 9 dollars. She was to pay a shilling interest each month per dollar, which suggests that she anticipated a short loan. In fact she paid it back but did not have her goods returned, upon which she raised an action in the burgh

court against the lender who was the widow of a wigmaker.⁴⁵

The fact that so many of these women were wives as well as widows suggests that this was a way in which women sought by their own means to provide for their families in a particular crisis. For example, Elizabeth Cameron whose husband, John Aitken, was alive, went to Rachael Tennant, a writing master's wife, and told her 'she was in great poverty' and would pledge to her silver plate for the loan of £25 10s sterling. When the money was not repaid by the time agreed, Elizabeth Cameron asked permission to have the goods roused for payment.⁴⁶ The high incidence of so many of these loans turning up in the burgh court unpaid, suggests that in the end many of those concerned were unable to pay them back. Some of the goods, unlike those which were probably kept as 'currency' represented the necessities of life. In 1747 Margaret Douglas, widow, was visited by Jean Horsburgh (spouse of John Angus) who

'represented that their family was in the greatest straights at least that she very much wanted one pound eight shillings sterling And that she would lay a sufficient pledge for the use of the money for a short time. The petitioner was prevailed with to give her the money and Jean Horsburgh for her security impledged to her the goods following viz., A pott and kettel, a brander or frying pan, two pairs of sheets, a pair of Blankets a pynt stoup a Silver knee buckle, Ane Apron a smale parcell of blew worset, A Cutthroat (knife), with power to your petitioner to value, Roup and Dispose of them incase the above sum was not payed within ten dayes which sum they refuse to pay'.⁴⁷

Another instance of pledge shows that this kind of currency was used in the face of diligence. John Antonious, wright, owed Christian Bartleman £6 3s 0 sterling. When Christian informed him that she would use diligence, his wife came to her (i.e. Christian) and asked if 'she would defer diligence and left her two diamond rings'.

However, they were unable to pay back the debt and Christian asked that she might have the rings roused to pay for the debt.⁴⁸

The pledges discussed above do seem to have been given to anybody known to the borrower who was willing to lend the money on security, and not to those who were in the conventional sense pawnbrokers. From information in other sources, however, it is evident that there were many of the latter in the Capital, and their presence would indicate a substantial turnover of pawned goods including clothes. The world of the pawnbroker was also the world of the poor and is linked to another element in burgh life, that of stealing, another resort of the burgh poor which can be linked to the clothing trade.

In her two very interesting articles on the second-hand clothing trade in England between 1700 and 1800, Beverley Lemire has drawn attention to the sale of second-hand clothing as the answer to the desire of the 'less affluent' members of society to dress themselves in the fashion of the times.

'Attention has most commonly been focused on the production and sale of ... new commodities. However, the purchase of newly-made cloth and clothing was not the full sum of the consumer impulse. Demand in Britain was two-tiered. On the first level there were the collective purchases of a panoply of accessories, fabrics and clothing, bought in varying amounts by the aristocracy and middle ranks. Yet the popular fashions and desire for more clothing permeated well below this plane. Among the less affluent, demand was manifested in part through the sale, trade and purchase of second-hand merchandise. Used apparel of all sorts was available in the market place and, along with new garments, answered the needs of a significant segment of society, ranging from the middle ranks to the labourers'.

She also draws attention to the fact that

'Allied with this legitimate trade was an equally common pattern of theft that through illicit means aimed at meeting identical popular aspirations. Clothing was the most sought-after, and at the same time, the most easily disposable commodity in this period. Olwen Hufton has described the ubiquitous theft and resale of stolen clothing among the poor in 18th century France...'. 49

The importance of this preoccupation with fashionable clothing to the present study, however, is that the sale of such clothing became an important means of obtaining cash for the poor and in eighteenth-century Edinburgh the incidence of stealing and pawning bears this out.

The cases of stealing and pawning which were brought before the Burgh Court reveal a layer of society rarely described by historians of the eighteenth-century Capital. Depositions related to these cases show that Edinburgh had, even in the eighteenth century, its own Dickensian underworld. In this world dealers in second-hand clothes, pawnbrokers, receivers and thieves of all ages played a dangerous game of hide-and-seek with the law. A sample of this world also shows how the pre-occupation with fashionable clothes and the constant market in this commodity led to the constant theft and reset of stolen goods, especially among the poor who were desperately in need of money. The following case brought to the Burgh Court in 1747 gives a vivid picture of the kind of life which existed in the streets of Edinburgh in the middle of the century.

Two boys, Thomas Wallace and Will Dawson, were summoned to the Burgh Court on a charge of theft. The fathers of both boys were dead; Thomas Wallace's father had been a soldier in Colonel Gardner's

Dragoon's and Will Dawson's father had been a horse-hirer. Neither of their mothers is mentioned in the case. Both boys had been living in the Charity Workhouse from which they had run away. Thomas Wallace had been in the Workhouse for two years and had since

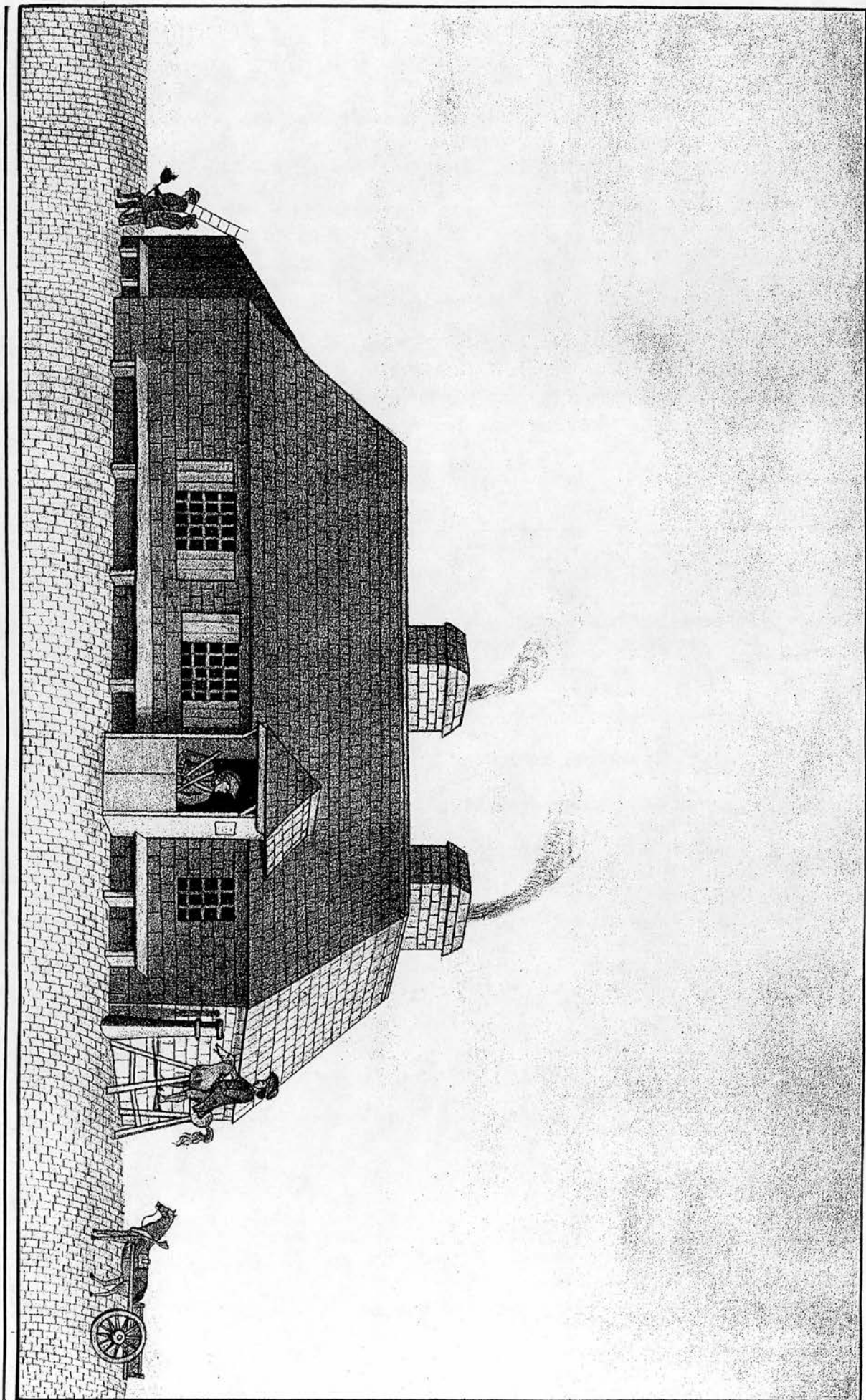
'lodged in no particular place ... but had lain under stairs or any other hole he could get into... [He] with Glasgow (?) York, Will Dawson and other boys who live by thieving and lodge in the house of Janet Gray who lives in the north side of the Canongate below the sign of the Three Grenadiers broke into the shop of Mrs Grieve below the Tron Church upon Thursday last Declares that Will Dawson went in at the back window and brought out the following goods, handkerchiefs, ... a muslin apron, and a piece of firrit [narrow binding tape or ribbon], upon which the whole company went to the house of Mrs Mills at the back of the Fleshmarket asking her to keep them till next day. Which they did and went back to Mrs Mills and got the goods wrapped up in the apron and carried them to Janet Gray where they left them. Declares that they told Mrs Mills where they got them and she desired them to take them out of her house and not to reveal where they had got them. And further declares that Janet Gray before mentioned instigates them to committ theft and sells goods for them...'. 50

There are no other depositions in this case and the outcome is not recorded but it is likely that Janet Gray was a receiver and used others, like Will Dawson, to steal for her, much as Dickens' Fagan did in London. Women like this may have passed themselves off as pawnbrokers. The impression given by other evidence of second-hand clothes dealing is that such women had to be sought out and were not always well-known to the community at large, although known to each other. What is clear, however, is that the poor were part of this chain of crime, even although the consequences of being found out could be desperate. One woman, Anne Cochran had to appear in the Burgh Court on a charge of theft on 21 December 1747:

'Anne Cochran being a very poor indigent person she was some time ago taken in by the managers of the said house [Charity Workhouse] and entertained at the public expence.... She stole out of the said house a half bed sheet and a quantity of worset and a napkin, the bed sheet being found in her custody and the worset and a napkin in the custody of Margaret May.... She [Margaret] acknowledges that Anne Cochran is her mother that she knew that she was in the Charity Workhouse and that she [Anne] brought to her the worset and napkin which she bought from her at 5½ ...'. 51

There is no information regarding any punishment for Margaret but her mother was to have '3 lashes on her naked shoulders by the hangman' and to be drummed out of the town 'having her napkin, worset and half sheet tied about her neck' and banished from the city. There appears to have been no precise rule about the severity of the punishment. It seems incredible that a poor woman who is called 'a very poor indigent person' should have had to suffer such severity while another woman who had 'picked the pockets of Mary Morton and stole 4s sterling from them' should have been liberated from prison after one day on enacting herself to behave in future 'on pain of being sent to the Correction House'. This case was in 1739 and is found in a record in the City Archives entitled 'Acts by liberated prisoners', 1739-42. Some women were, of course, sent to the Correction House: Barbara Simpson was sent for stealing 'ribbons and other goods from Miss Macdonald milliner, Margaret Maxwell, who stole linens from a washerwoman at the door of a merchant's shop, was also sent there. Margaret Gillies was sent to prison for 'stealing a plaid and other goods from the wife of John Stewart towns soldier'. She acknowledged that she 'has been upon the coxstool in the Canongate for the like misdemeanor'; she was liberated but warned next offence she would be sent to the Correction House.⁵²

The Old City Guard of Edinburgh, as it stood in 1786.



No threats of prison or imprisonment itself appears to have made any impression on some women. Jean Beathe, identified as 'theif' and confined in the 'Theifs Hold', had already indented to go to the West Indies and had been confined in the Correction House till an opportunity to go arrived. She 'broke out and stole from a chest containing body apparel which clothes she sold'. Not only clothes and linen but jewellery was stolen, no doubt with the intention of reselling it. Sarah MacMillan was held in the City Guardhouse at the instance of Provost Archibald MacAulay for 'stealing rings and other things belonging to his family', for which she was sent to the Correction House.⁵³

Not all the accused were found guilty, however. Jean Anderson, a servant who had been accused by her master of 'defecting his service and stealing away some clothes and other goods' from his house was later released by the magistrates 'not being convicted of what she was accused with'. Another servant who had been in the City Guard stated that she had admitted stealing from her mistress, Miss Mutter, a milliner, because she had been 'threatened by the guard if she did not confess', and had invented the story of having been asked to steal by another woman. Her word was accepted in that her mistress took her back, David Cockburn, a weaver and her uncle, standing caution for her, promising 'that at any time when called for within 6 months to answer any complaint brought against her at the instance of Miss Mutter', the penalty being £40 Scots.⁵⁴

The fact that the women who were in prison for theft were confined for such short spells, from one to seven days, may indicate that stealing of this kind was so prevalent that it was impossible to

Opposite: The Old City Guard of Edinburgh as it stood in 1786; (from Edinburgh in the Olden Time, 1880)

house so many people. The circumstances surrounding other instances of theft suggest that Janet Gray was certainly not the only receiver of stolen goods. Janet Brown, servant to Lady Dunlop, was imprisoned in the City Guard for opening a trunk and stealing 'a pair of Holland sheets of which she caused make a shirt and bairns frock'. She also stole Brussels lace and put some of it on the shirt and 'stole from her lady a Bed twilt [quilt] out of which she made a petticoat...'. Janet lodged with her aunt, spouse of William Smellie journeyman mason living in the Grassmarket, to whom she gave the 'bairns frock'. She alleged that her aunt had enticed her to steal, although her aunt denied the charge. Janet may have accused her aunt in order to get off herself, but her aunt may well have been a receiver. In another instance, Margaret Lawson stole blankets from her landlady and sold them to Elizabeth Lowrie who kept a kail stand on the street. Elizabeth Lowrie may also have been a receiver and the servant may well have known that she would buy the blankets from her. Operating on the street Elizabeth Lowrie would be in a good position to keep in touch with this kind of undercover trade.⁵⁵

Small shopkeepers who were only ticking over were vulnerable to those who asked them to make up garments, such as stock and shirts, from stolen goods. These women could earn a little by making and asking no questions. For example, one man who had been put in prison for stealing from his master was let out of prison to join the army. He then employed a woman to sell napkins for him, probably some of the stolen property, and also had shirts made out of sheets; the authorities decided to question the person who had made them up for him. Taking stolen garments to pieces was one way of disguising

them. Since linen was often marked because it was sent to a washerwoman, these marks of identification had to be removed.⁵⁶

Pawning had always been used as a means of obtaining cash quickly in a crisis. From the available evidence it is clear that pawnbroking if not legalised was certainly well-established in the eighteenth century. In 1724 Margaret Hislop, servant to a shoemaker, Edward Hill, had according to her master gone off owing him money. He heard that she had pawned her plaid and a pair of sheets to a pawnbroker, Jean Gordon. He demanded that the pawnbroker return the goods to him to pay for the debt and accused Jean Gordon of being 'in too much use to receive and deal in pawnbroking which ought to be discouraged'.⁵⁷ Another case, involving the sale of a gown and petticoat reveals the network of buying and selling of clothes in the burgh. Jean Forrest (the pursuer) required money to pay her travelling expenses in order to join her husband and also to pay some debts before leaving Edinburgh. She decided to sell a silver stuff gown and petticoat 'which were the only effects she had fit to dispose of'. An embroiderer recommended her to a woman, Isobel Peden, as the only person likely to buy it from her. Jean took a friend, Mrs Gordon, with her, no doubt as a witness to the transaction. Isobel Peden said she would buy the gown and petticoat and gave her part of the money for it, saying she would give her the balance later. This part of the bargain was not kept, however, and she started to haggle over the price. In the end Isobel Peden was forced to try to sell some of her own goods:

'She not only went off to raise money with her own effects to pledge to raise money to pay the pursuer but also sent Mrs Gordon with some clothes and two diamond rings to sundry persons to raise money upon them to pay the pursuer. But on being informed to whom they belonged knowing her to be a troublesome person would have nothing to do with them'.

Isobel Peden had charged Jean Forrest for 'incidental expenses in going about among the people who dealt in Pledges in order to procure the money', for she said that she was 'ignorant in Dealings in that way'. To this Jean Forrest objected, asserting that she would not 'have been recommended to her [Isobel Peden] as a Person proper for Purchasing the Gown', otherwise.⁵⁸ Some of these women appear to have had 'warerooms', sometimes called 'broking ware room'. Anne Thomas, accused of theft, said that she left a 'stuff coat [petticoat] with Katherine McLaren at the Halls', probably referring to a pawnbroker.⁵⁹

There is no doubt that the pre-occupation with fashionable clothing, discussed by Beverley Lemire, also added to the extent of buying and selling second-hand clothing. When John Gibson a merchant at the Sign of the Golden Fan advertised the goods he had brought from London in the Caledonian Mercury of 18 October 1753, he also informed the public that 'the above goods [were] to be sold or exchanged for all sorts of old clothes, gold and silver lace, or any old linen...', underlining the importance of second-hand goods.⁶⁰ Although this Chapter is mainly concerned with Women and Poverty the following extract from a Burgh Court process is worth quoting as it shows just how important fashionable clothing could be to those who could not really afford it and how this obsession with clothing was

all part of a network of thieving, pledging and pawn. The following is the deposition of Anne Thomson who had been accused of theft:

'... Declares that she borrowed from Janet Mathieson a damask gown twilted coat and the other particulars lybelled in order to go to a wedding with them That the declarant Exchanged the Cloaths with Ann Ross in the Queensferry for other Cloaths but the said Jean Mathieson has got them back excepting the Gloves which she lost Acknowledges that she borrowed from Thomas Forbes the cloaths lybelled which she left with one Janet McLaren in (?) Moishall near the Queensferry and also acknowledges that she stole from the said Thomas Forbes the clock [cloak] mentioned in the Complaint Declares that the stuff coat she left with Katherine McLaren at the Halls for 2/- sterling which the Declarant was formerly owing to her.... And the black coat was found upon her on Saturday night last That the white apron and white napkin she left with the said Janet McLaren at Moishill in place of a napkin the Declarant borrowed from her And the said Janet McLaren also got the head cloaths and mens blue stockings ... denies she stole anything from [Helen Stewart] having got the shoes upon the credit of the said Helen Stewart and borrowed the stockings. Acknowledges she borrowed from Isobel Donaldson servant to Thomas Fairholm merchant a white gown, a black English Petticoat, a plaid, a pair of gloves ane apron a shirt and a headsuit of cambric pinner and a cambrick napkin. That at the time she told the said Isobel Donaldson she had made a foolish marriage and was to put on these clothes to go and advise with a writer. That she borrowed them in the month of August last and left them that same month in the house of John Stewart stabler in Coupar in Fife where they still are. Acknowledges she goes by the name of Ann Duncan tho' her real name is Thomson'. 61

Ann Thomson could not write. Rather than take punishment for her offences she offered to become an indentured servant in the West Indies.

Not all poor people took to crime; some did ask for help. There is no doubt, however, that those who were ultimately driven to petition the magistrates, the Orphan Hospital or any other body, did

so as the last resort. The tone of these petitions clearly reflects the accepted attitude to poverty. In the petition of Mary Riddoch, a widow, it was said that 'it has pleased God to get her with poverty' and in one sent to the Merchant company by a widow with a family of small children she pleaded,

'I am so distressed (with submission to providence) with Rheumatic pains, weakness of sight and other infirmities of body which render me incapable of earning my bread as in times passed otherwise I would not have presumed to trouble the honourable Company at this time...'. 62

Such submission, however, should not be assumed to be the actual sentiments of the poor themselves who it would appear from the evidence saw poverty in a different light. They were certainly not the sentiments of Isobel Reid who with others assaulted the City Guard when they were trying to take some beggars to the Correction House,

'... calling the soldiers villans, rascalls and bougars [and] called out it was for their groat they carried the beggars to the House of Correction, that they hoped their groats would perish and the magistrates also and uttered several horrid oaths and gathered a great mob...'. 63

Those named in this case were Isobel Reid, a clothier's servant, Agnes Henderson spouse to - Semple a shoemaker, John Smith son to a blacksmith, Babie Gillespie in the Trinity Hospital, Robert Thomson in the Orphan Hospital and Charles Lindsay servant to a wigmaker in Leith Wynd.⁶³ A similar incident in the same year 1747, also concerned a beggar and the intervention of a woman (Maly Burns wife of an instrument-maker) on the beggar's behalf. The Guard had apprehended a 'common beggar', a woman, on the High Street and was taking her to the Guard house when

'...the defender [Maly Burns] Invade and assault the said soldier gave him several blows and several other persons that were endeavouring to carry the said beggar to the guard house, the defender uttered several horrid oaths and predictions made a great disturbance acting and behaving in a most outrageous manner and violently carried away the said beggar and further she gave the soldier several names at least the said beggar was violently carried away and the defender was art and part therein...'.⁶⁴

Having been served with a summons to the court she asked that 'she might see and answer the complaint' and was allowed to the following Monday to compear. She failed to do so and was therefore to be fined £5 Scots and apprehended and incarcerated 'till she find caution to answer the within complaint'.⁶⁴

It would be interesting to know the final outcome of these cases. However, what is important is that there were inhabitants of the burgh who were prepared to intervene in the face of the harsh treatment being meted out to the poor. Evidence in the records shows, in fact, that the poor had various ways of protecting one another. For example, there are instances where the 'Mobb' intervened to sort out social problems. For example, McCrobie, a grocer, assaulted his wife while she was pregnant, threw her out on the street, refused to let her back into the house, and sent for the guard. The Guard, 'when they saw her condition' refused to become involved and she would 'probably have perished but for the Mob that gathered round her and had pity on her and broke open the defender's door and caused him to receive her...'.⁶⁵ It is impossible to expand on this aspect of poverty but one more example is significant and worth quoting. This incident, in which the Mob was involved,

took place at Newhaven. The effects of Ann Muir, widow of James Gray sailor of Newhaven, were to be sequestrated to pay creditors. When she died she left all her goods to her grand-nephew who was also her executor, but Robert Mutter had applied to the court to become executor because he was a creditor. It would seem, however, that this was strongly opposed, as it is recorded in her testament in January 1749 that

'... as the people and inhabitants Rose in a tumultuous and Revolutionary manner in order to mobb and deforce the Clerk's servant and those along with him ... it was thought proper that the Clerk should attend at the other diets anent Mrs Gray's affairs as he would put on an air of more authority and telling the people of their hazzard in stopping the execution of the law...'. 66

There were ways of evading the law in the matter of sequestration. As has been noted in the Introduction to this Chapter, for the poor whose whole effects were to be sequestrated for rent there is a great deal of evidence to show that inhabitants in this situation removed their effects to the homes of friends and acquaintances, and indeed the many requests to the magistrates for permission to sequester a tenant's furniture and effects for rent usually point out that if this is not done quickly the petitioner will be left without sufficient goods to sell to cover the amount of the rent. The hiding of goods was also done by those in other financial difficulties. Janet Chirnside, who with her husband became bankrupt in 1786, was accused of concealing her effects 'everywhere in town and country' and three years later it was asserted that she 'thought she might safely bring out her concealed goods without detection and live upon the fruits of her fraud'. In such cases it is very often the woman who appears to have taken the initiative; in

this particular case it was claimed that it was Janet and not her husband who 'properly speaking carried on the business of haberdasher, he being employed himself as a clerk in Mr Fleming's paper warehouse in Edinburgh...'.⁶⁷

Women, especially those who were financially speaking only surviving and no more, had their own ways of working out a means of survival. Small shopkeepers, for example, who themselves had to wait for payment from debtors, would postpone the payment of their own debts as long as possible, no doubt allowing them to use any money they had to satisfy their most demanding creditors. The standard legal phrase, that debtors would not pay 'unless compelled' is at the same time an accurate description of the fact that many creditors simply could not get payment unless they took debtors to court. The following case also shows how creditors, especially landlords and landladies, saw their debtors' effects as something to which they had a right and expected sequestration to follow immediately upon failure to pay: in the case of shopkeepers this could mean the sequestration of their means of livelihood. In the case in question Elizabeth Stewart, a changekeeper, who had sublet a little shop to Nanny Brotherston, a grocer, complained to the magistrates that the goods and effects in the shop, which she saw as her security for the rent, were 'ready to be embezzled to your petitioner's hurt and prejudice'. She therefore petitioned the bailies 'to grant warrant to the clerks of court to inventory sequesterate and roup the said goods and effects for payment of the said rent'. This was granted by the bailies, but with this condition that 'before roup [they] ordain the defender to

be summoned'. This was ordained on 15 April 1788 and on 17 April Nanny Brotherston appeared before the bailies. She showed no hesitation in demanding what she saw as her rights, that her creditor should not benefit until the rent was actually due (that is, Whitsunday) however much she was threatened.

'Compeared the Defender Marion Brotherston who consigns in the clerk's hands the $\frac{1}{2}$ years rent current and due at Whitsunday next in order that the sequestration may be removed from her effects and under Protestation that the same be not paid to the Petitioner till the same fall due and to be liberat from the expenses and found entitled to Damages and Expenses she has sustained by the Sequestration'. 68

The receipt for the payment has survived and, as it is dated 22 May 1788, it can be assumed that Nanny Brotherston got at least one of her demands, that she should not have to pay until the Whitsunday term.

In spite of all attempts to keep afloat, however, some women found themselves facing creditors whom they could not pay and finally ended up in prison. All kinds of women could find themselves in this situation. Widows left with young families and unable to meet the demands of creditors could find that even after all their possessions had been sequestrated some of their debts were still unpaid. There were other women, especially shopkeepers, who found themselves bankrupt and imprisoned for debt, whose circumstances were due to their own customers' unpaid bills, some of which were outstanding for years. Other women were imprisoned for debt simply because their employment had not provided sufficient for their subsistence. Such women, imprisoned without hope of bettering their situation, and without funds with which to aliment themselves in

prison, would have been in even greater distress but for the provisions of the Act of Grace and process of cessio bonorum.⁶⁹

These procedures in Scotland were an acknowledgement that bankruptcy was a fact of life in the fragile credit economy of the eighteenth century. The Act of Grace provided for the prisoner's aliment: if the prisoner was completely bankrupt the creditor was ordered to pay daily aliment, the amount being fixed (if the case was dealt with in the burgh court) by the magistrates. If within a certain time the creditors failed to pay aliment the prisoner would be liberated. The debtor could also be liberated through cessio bonorum. By this process the debtor gave up her whole estate and possessions, including all debts owing to her. Another means of liberation was on account of sickness. If a prisoner became ill she could apply for release through a sick bill: if after examination a surgeon concluded that the prisoner's condition would deteriorate if she was kept in prison she might then be released by means of a sick bill. Prisoners so released, however, had to find caution to return to prison when sufficiently recovered. There are also instances of pregnant women being liberated and returned to prison after their delivery.

Of course, not only were women sent to prison themselves but they could also have their debtors committed. For example, Mrs Niven, baker, had John Carmichael, a grocer in the Canongate, put in prison on 1 May 1809, but consented to his liberation on 13 May when he agreed to repay her by instalments of 6d per week. James Adams, a smith in the Canongate, was committed to prison at the instance of Edinburgh shopkeeper Margaret Hutchison on 17 November 1786 but was

released on 6 December by the Act of Grace when she did not pay his aliment.⁷⁰

Not all creditors accepted the amount of aliment awarded by the magistrates without complaint. There are many instances of creditors complaining about the amount they were asked to pay and in some of these cases aliment was slightly modified. There can be little doubt that for the magistrates the creditors' payment of aliment removed the responsibility of providing relief from the Town and, therefore, to that extent the prisoner could be sure of getting aliment, and if not, liberation. Therefore all that creditors could hope for in complaining, was a modification of the amount awarded. Processes dealing with aliment bear this out. One woman, Susannah Alves a shopkeeper, was imprisoned at the instance of several other shopkeepers for non-payment of goods which she had received from them. They alleged that she had sold the goods at a lower price than they were worth. Susannah was in fact bankrupt and applied for the benefit of the Act of Grace, claiming that she had nothing with which to aliment herself. One of her creditors, Euphame Sinclair a shopkeeper in the Luckenbooths and wife of John Robertson, goldsmith, objected to paying aliment, alleging in a petition that Susannah

'has made a sort of trade for some time past of imposing on the merchants in the Luckenbooths by persuading them to trust her with goods and as the petitioner is informed when she once got possession of these goods she was in use to sell them for below the value which she bought them at, the petitioner must therefore humbly crave that your lordships will be pleased to appoint the said Susannah Alves to declare ... whether she did in fact sell the goods ... and to whom they were sold and in case these goods were not sold she will be ordained to declare in whose custody they are at present and in the meantime to stop her liberation from prison'.

Susannah acknowledged that she had got the goods from the shopkeepers in the Luckenbooths but could not say to whom she had sold them, stating that she had none of them in her custody. No doubt selling the goods had been a last resort in order to raise some money to keep herself solvent. Euphame Sinclair also objected in her petition to the award of aliment, claiming that Susannah was in prison for fraud not bankruptcy. Euphame Sinclair's petition was refused by the magistrates and Susannah was granted the benefit of the Act of Grace, that is, the creditors were ordered to pay her aliment. However, on the creditors' refusal to pay she was released from prison. In fact, Susannah herself was owed, among other debts, £18 sterling by a Mrs Nicol, £11 10s sterling by a Mr Maitland, merchant in the Canongate, and £10 sterling by another Canongate merchant.⁷¹

Sometimes there were simply not enough funds for the creditors to be paid, even after a prisoner's whole effects had been sequestrated. Katherine Veitch, like Euphame Sinclair a shopkeeper in the Luckenbooths, became bankrupt in 1788 and called her creditors. She owed money for cloth to Messrs Arthur Neal and Co. in Glasgow for which she could not pay. The court ruled that her goods be arrested for debt but when the town officer went to poind them 'they could not be found'. She was therefore imprisoned until she paid her debts. Katherine, however, when in prison stated that she had been forced to 'bespoke the goods' for another debt. This was her shop rent, due to John Black. The bailies ruled that the goods in her shop should be roup'd to pay her rent and the balance to go to Neal and Co. The sale of the shop goods, which consisted of various

fabrics, 6 napkins, a table, a chair and a stool, realised only £7 7s 5d and after the clerk's fee had been deducted only £5 12s 3d was left, which only met the payment of her shop rent. Presumably Neal and Co's bill was left unpaid. While in prison Katherine signed a declaration that she was bankrupt, so that it can be assumed that she was liberated by cessio bonorum.⁷²

Such examples show the kind of risks women had to take in order to survive and how near they were most of the time to incarceration for debt. Katherine Veitch could not pay rent for her shop, far less afford to stock it. It is not surprising that prisoners became ill in prison. Long periods of anxiety and distress, the latter brought about by attempts to remain solvent in the face of litigation and the threat of bankruptcy, meant that when incarceration became a reality the prisoner's health deteriorated rapidly. Some creditors objected to liberation by means of the sick bill but evidence suggests that the surgeon's recommendation was usually accepted by the magistrates. Mrs Gall, an auctioneer, was released on the recommendation of Dr Wardrope and on finding caution to return when she recovered, Mrs Beaumont and May Paterson were liberated their 'life being in danger'; May Paterson was incarcerated on 11 September 1800, liberated on the sick bill on 15 September, returned to prison on 27 September and finally liberated on 4 October on paying £5 of the bill she owed. Presumably she had found someone willing to lend her the money to effect her liberation.⁷³

Some women who had debtors imprisoned at their instance had not enough money to pay their debtors' aliment and it therefore seems surprising that they took the trouble to do so. A servant, Helen

Craig, had her master Henry Glen a silk-weaver put in prison; he owed her £4 2s 6d, probably her wages, and the delivery of her clothes. However, Glen was liberated by the Act of Grace, no doubt because Helen had been unable to pay his aliment even if she had wanted to keep him in prison. It is not known whether she received any recompense or even the delivery of her clothes.⁷⁴

Given that the Act of Grace and cessio bonorum relieved men and women from lying in prison indefinitely, release under such circumstances was often just as hopeless. This is brought out in a petition from a coachdriver who stated that he was now in bed, having been kicked by one of the horses, and that even when he was working he only had four shillings a week and four children to maintain, and

'... ass everything is so Dear it Gos but a Short way...
this time twelve month I lay in prison a long time and Was
forsiead [forced] to take the Benefit of the Act in which all
was taken from me...'.⁷⁵

His petition underlines the fact that although cessio bonorum could be seen to be an act of compassion with regard to liberation, in reality prisoners must have tried everything possible to ward off the necessity of signing away everything they had. For women the situation was no different and they also no doubt did all in their power to avoid cessio bonorum. Amelia Chalmers sought a way out by persuading her creditors to agree to her liberation for six months when, she informed them, she would receive an annuity due to her.⁷⁶ Other women were less fortunate; Mrs Kessock, when no aliment was forthcoming, was liberated from prison in a 'starving condition' and with two young children to provide for.⁷⁷

Conclusion

Women's struggle against poverty in eighteenth-century Edinburgh highlights the fact that at that period women were expected to work and did so even into old age. Petitions for financial help from women who were asking to have children put into the Orphan Hospital always emphasised that every possible means of industry had been tried.⁷⁸ A widow Jean Black, writing to the Orphan Hospital stated that she had five children to provide for 'by her own industry'; Jean Adam 'laboured hard' to provide for her family; it was said of Annabella Weir that 'she struggled hard' for her five children, although after trying 'several shifts' she still could not get enough to support them; Margaret Smith who had nursed her husband until he died 'was unable to work' for her family.⁷⁹

Another woman, petitioning the Merchant Company, wrote,

'... your petitioner being ane old woman and my sight so failed that I cannot see neither to sew nor do for myself to get my bread so humbly craveth that you'll be pleased to consider my necessity and want'.⁸⁰

Such examples clearly demonstrate that women were expected to show to those whom they petitioned that they had done all in their power to work for their living and support their families. The many petitions for alimant of one kind or another also reveal the fact that in eighteenth-century Edinburgh there must have been large numbers of one-parent families. In a world where fever or other illness could carry off a parent or where unemployment could mean the departure of a husband to find work elsewhere, this is not surprising.

As already noted, what is also clear is that the poor asked for help as a last resort. The fact that women worked on into old age underlines this. Evidence from the records suggests also that women not only expected to work but wanted to work. What is significant in the petitions is the revelation that the problem for many of the poor was not so much that they could not find work but that women's work was so poorly paid that the pittance they obtained from it came nowhere near to solving their problem of financial survival.

Women's employments which turn up in the petitions may have helped to eke out family subsistence where the husband was employed but were totally inadequate either for single women or poor women who had children to support. Jean Comb, a gardener's widow with five children, stated in her petition that she had got her living by 'spinning, washing, dressing and other such work' which 'with all her possible industry' would not have afforded the food and clothing really necessary for her family without the help of people who knew her husband. Isobel Brunton, a soldier's wife who had been left with three children, said she had tried everything including 'sicknurse and servant' yet found it 'entirely out of her power to support them'. Katherine Brown found that 'any little pittance she can earn is inadequate'. Helen Johnston whose husband, a letter carrier for the Post Office, had died as a result of trying to save their furniture and other goods when their house went on fire, had tried to survive by roomsetting but had also failed to make ends meet.⁸¹

The attitude to women's wages is reflected in the letter which William Hamilton wrote to Sir James Garrow concerning midwives,

asserting that

'In the great majority of cases, therefore, Midwives, if properly educated, could undertake with safety the management of women in labour; and as they can afford their time and trouble for a much smaller recompence than regular male Practitioners, they necessarily must prove highly useful to Society'. 82

The fact that women, who in the 1780s were asking for financial assistance to help them train as midwives, were widows and in need of the employment for subsistence for themselves and their families was entirely overlooked. It is not possible here to expand on the subject of women's low-paid work but it should be noted with regard to this aspect of women's employment that industrialisation changed nothing. The question of women and low-paid jobs in the service sector is still with us.

An important aspect of women and poverty is the effect of such traumatic circumstances on children. Any discussion of women and poverty is to a large extent a discussion of children, for children were everywhere. Families were large and petitions show that widows and single parents were often left with numbers of children to provide and care for. The importance of children is revealed not only in petitions to the Orphan Hospital but in all kinds of other surviving records which deal with poor women or women in financial difficulties, including prison records.

It has to be remembered first of all that the cost of midwives' fees, clothing, illness and death was considerable. The best the poor could do was often to pawn their possessions, like the woman who pawned a gown to pay for her child's funeral. One of the most traumatic circumstances for children must have been the death of

parents through illness; fever especially might take both parents. The poor were likely to be the first to succumb to an epidemic as they were often in poor health. For example, a wright and his wife died within months of each other leaving their small children orphans. A petition survives asking that the repositories be sealed up as 'Anne Chalmers widow of Alexander Moodie wright died this morning and there is none in the house but the defunct's infant children and a maid'. There is a bill for meat to the family 'while Mrs Moodie lay a corpse'.⁸³ In another instance a porter and his wife died of fever and were buried in the same grave. Their eldest daughter, aged 17, 'to whom the younger members of the family looked up to as a parent' also took fever and died a few weeks later.⁸⁴ Even a parent's illness could result in a crisis for children. When Widow Rannie had frequently to go into hospital with 'a female complaint' her daughter was left in the house by herself.⁸⁵ As already noted, a family's possessions had often to be sold to pay creditors when a father died or left home leaving numerous debts behind. Janet Menzies had to take her three children to 'live in a low cellar' when her tailor husband failed in business and went away, 'doesn't know where...'.⁸⁶ When a woman with a family went to join a husband she had to find money to pay for the children's and her own travelling expenses. Women themselves sometimes tried to find work elsewhere. Sophia Stewart, a widow with five small children, managed to get work in Perth for two years but was forced to return to Edinburgh.⁸⁷

Although children are silent in the records their response to their circumstances is sometimes revealed in the depositions of

eighteenth century records.

A Mrs Bradburgh had Cecilia Brown incarcerated in the Tolbooth for £4 15s arrears of rent and complained that the aliment was not in agreement with Cecilia's 'rank and station':

'... this woman seems to have got her living from washing clothes and has of course been accustomed to fair in a very humble manner... according to her own oath all her furniture in her house is worth no more than 20/- which shows the low situation she has been placed in. And although she frequently contrives to put on dress which is very unbecoming to one who earns her bread by manual labour and which is the very opposite of any recommendation to her character yet your Honours will not be disposed after you have learned her true circumstances to give her an extravagant aliment on this account...'.

It was further pointed out for Mrs Bradburgh that two requests for augmentation of aliment had been refused to male prisoners even although they were in

'more respectable circumstances than the said Cecilia Brown; and as the aliment of a man must be more expensive than of a women it will be submitted that 8 pence a day will be a sufficient allowance in the present case...'.

The magistrates had allowed Cecilia 1s 3d a day. In the answers for Cecilia it was claimed that she was a mantuamaker and washed and dressed linens as part of her services.⁹⁰

Although in this case the magistrates refused the petition and awarded Cecilia an aliment of 1s 3d per day, the case underlines the attitude of those in authority to those they saw as the poor and less deserving members of society, and demonstrates what was really understood by 'station' or status. In this context it did not mean a social but a financial category, a level of subsistence at which the poor were expected to remain. It also reflects the resistance to

witnesses. In a case of lawborrows, for example, when a woman who had been reduced to poverty by her husband was sent to prison at his instance, a witness said that the prisoner's son 'was like to go out of his mind' when told what had happened to his mother.⁸⁸ There was no adequate provision for such poor children in these circumstances apart from the Orphan Hospital, except perhaps spasmodic help given in a crisis after women were forced to petition for assistance. From petitions sent to the Orphan Hospital it is quite clear that it could not cope with the magnitude of the problem. Only those who were members of the merchant Company or of an Incorporation could have their children taken into hospitals such as those of the Merchant and Trades Maiden, George Heriot's and George Watson's. In 1787 a minister visited a 'cold miserable hovel' where he found the five children of Alexander Anderson chairman 'very destitute of clothes, sometimes reduced to feed on hens meal and sleeping on straw with a slight cover over them'. They were being cared for by the eldest daughter, aged 13, Anderson's wife having deserted him which, it was noted, was 'not so common in low life'. The comment underlines the commitment that poor women had to their families.⁸⁹

Although 'indebtedness' could affect almost all 'classes' of society it would be naive to imagine that debt was the great leveller. There are references to those who are said to have 'seen better days', there are the 'out-pensioners' of the workhouse who must be separated from the 'begging poor', and even in the matter of aliment it would seem that a prisoner's 'status' rather than her need should decide the amount awarded. The following example although from the 1820s does reflect the attitude to status as found in the

realistic assessment for the poor in the Capital throughout the century. Fortunately as has been discussed above the poor helped each other. Their attitude towards those in similar circumstances to themselves contrasted with that of the writer to the Scots Magazine of 1749 who argued:

'the laws of God and man dictate that I and my family should first be secured of a competency out of my own, and that the provision from me to the poor should be only out of what I can spare of my income, over that competency'.

By contrast the poor took responsibility not only for their own families, but took in nieces, nephews, grandchildren and even orphans not related to them. The evidence shows that women particularly shouldered this responsibility.

Writing in the nineteenth century nearly 50 years later Alison could say,

'... it appears that in Edinburgh (and I believe the same holds of other large towns in Scotland), while there has been much disposition to relieve the sick poor, there has been a very general discouragement of institutions for the relief of mere poverty, - of the unemployed poor, the aged or permanently disabled poor, and the widows and orphans of the poor.... The kind of assistance to the poor, which all medical men know to be of the utmost importance for the prevention of many of their most formidable diseases, has been as much as possible withheld'. 91

He could well have been describing eighteenth-century Edinburgh.

NOTES

1. W.H. Fraser, Conflict and Class, Scottish Workers, 1700-1838, pp. 41-2.
2. Edinburgh City Archives, Moses Bundles, 161, Nos. 6209, 6219.
3. Edinburgh Commissary Records, CC8/6/66 (1798).
4. Edinburgh City Archives, Register of Sequestrations and Sales (1784).
5. Ibid., Sederunt Book of the Incorporation of Bakers of the Canongate, 13 February 1739.
6. Ibid. Burgh Court Processes, Box 93, Bundle 234 (1735).
7. Campbell of Barcaldine Muniments (SRO), GD 170/2021.
8. Leven and Melville Muniments (SRO), GD 26/6/123/31.
9. Hay of Duns Muniments (temporary deposit, SRO), TD 87/57/29 (1692).
10. Edinburgh Commissary Records, CC8/4/508 (1760).
11. Edinburgh City Archives, Burgh Court Processes, Box 115, Bundle 291 (1747).
12. Ibid., Acts of Liberated Prisoners, 1739-42 (30 December 1739).
13. Ibid., Burgh Court Processes, Box 180, Bundle 480 (1788).
14. Edinburgh Commissary Records, CC8/4/518 (1767).
15. Edinburgh City Archives, Burgh Court Processes, Box 73, Bundle 184 (1723-4).
16. Dean Orphanage Records (SRO), GD 417/185 (1787).
17. Ibid., Town Council Minutes, Vol. 34 (1690-94), p. 35 (1692).
18. Ibid., Moses Bundles, 172.
19. Records of the Merchant Company of Edinburgh, Minute Book, 1704-14 (1710).
20. Edinburgh City Archives, Burgh Court Processes, Box 114, Bundle 290 (1747).
21. Ibid., Petitions to the Magistrates, Moses Bundles 173, No. 50.
22. Ibid., No. 98.

23. Ibid., Dean of Guild Minute Book (August 1737).
24. Ibid., Burgh Court Processes, Box 180, Bundle 480.
25. Edinburgh Commissary Records, CC8/4/532 (1776).
26. Edinburgh City Archives, Burgh Court Processes, Box 115, Bundle 293 (1748).
27. Records of the Incorporation of Goldsmiths of Edinburgh (SRO), GD 1/482/4, 20 March 1744.
28. Ibid., GD 1/482/1 (10 May 1737).
29. Ibid., GD 1/482/4, 20 March 1744.
30. Ibid., GD 1/482/2, 24 March 1736.
31. Records of the Merchant Company of Edinburgh, Minute Book, 1783-1802, p.226 (1792).
32. Ibid., Minute Book, 1715-24, 20 March 1721.
33. Minutes of the Surgeons' Incorporation (1751).
34. Records of the Goldsmiths of Edinburgh (SRO), GD 1/482/2, 16 February 1731 (Forbes and Law); GD 1/482/4, 21 November 1758 (Blair and Yorston).
35. Records of the Merchant Company of Edinburgh (SRO), Minute Book, 1715-24, 23 May 1720.
36. Minutes of the Surgeons' Incorporation (1741).
37. Records of the Goldsmiths of Edinburgh (SRO), GD 1/482/2, 26 May 1730.
38. Edinburgh City Archives, Sederunt Book of the Incorporation of Bakers of the Canongate, 18 April 1743.
39. James D. Marwick, Edinburgh Crafts and Guilds (1909), p.100.
40. Edinburgh City Archives, Burgh Court Processes, Box 180, Bundle 478.
41. Ibid., Arrears of Poor's Money and Seat Rents, 28 April 1743.
42. Edinburgh Commissary Records, CC8/4/478 (1752).
43. Edinburgh City Archives, Burgh Court Processes, Box 136, Bundle 345 (1760).
44. Register House Series (SRO), RH 9/14/156/11 (1702).

45. Edinburgh City Archives, Burgh Court Processes, Box 34, Bundle 96 (1702).
46. Ibid., Box 48, Bundle 128 (1718).
47. Ibid., Box 115, Bundle 291 (1747).
48. Ibid.
49. Beverley Lemire, 'Peddling Fashion...', in Textile History, 22 (1), p.67; 'The Theft of Clothes and Popular Consumerism...', in Journal of Social History, vol. 24 (2), p.257.
50. Edinburgh City Archives, Burgh Court Processes, Box 115, Bundle 291 (1747).
51. Ibid.
52. Ibid., Acts of Liberated Prisoners, 1739-42, 8 October 1739.
The women named in this volume are mainly incarcerated for theft and prostitution.
53. Ibid., 12 July 1739.
54. Ibid., Burgh Court Processes, Box 115, Bundle 291 (1747).
55. Ibid.
56. Ibid.
57. Ibid., Box 73, Bundle 184 (1724).
58. Ibid., Box 140, Bundle 358 (1765).
59. Register House Series (SRO), RH 9/14/156/15.
60. Caledonian Mercury, 18 October 1753.
61. Register House Series (SRO), RH 9/14/156/15.
62. Edinburgh City Archives, Petitions to the Magistrates, 1685-1708, Moses Bundles, 173, No. 26.
63. Ibid., Box 115, Bundle 291 (1747).
64. Ibid.
65. Edinburgh Commissary Records, CC8/6/50 (1787).
66. Ibid., CC8/8/112/2, 31 January and 4 April 1749.
67. Edinburgh City Archives, Burgh Court Processes, Box 175, Bundle 464 (1786).
68. Ibid., Box 180, Bundle 480 (1788).

69. Lorna Ewan, 'Debtors, Imprisonment and the Privilege of Girth', in L. Leneman (ed.), Perspectives in Scottish Social History (1988), pp. 53-68.
70. Edinburgh City Archives, Canongate Tolbooth Records, 1 May 1809, 17 November 1786.
71. Ibid., Burgh Court Processes, Box 136, Bundle 345 (1760).
72. Ibid., Box 180, Bundle 478 (1788).
73. Ibid., Canongate Tolbooth Records, 21 August and 2 April 1799, 11, 15, 27 September 1800.
74. Ibid., 15 February 1786.
75. Ibid., Burgh Court Processes, Box 125, Bundle 318 (1753).
76. Ibid., Canongate Tolbooth Records, 19 November 1790.
77. Ibid., 3 May 1785.
78. Records of Dean Orphanage (SRO), GD 417/186 (1788).
79. (Adam) Ibid., GD 417/188 (1789); (Weir) Ibid. (Smith) Ibid.
80. Records of the Merchant Company of Edinburgh (SRO), GD 277, Box 18, Bundle 8.
81. Ibid. (Comb, Brunton, Brown and Johnston).
82. James Hamilton, Letter to Sir James Garrow, MD, 1817 (NLS).
83. Edinburgh Commissary Records, CC8/4/518 (1767).
84. Records of the Dean Orphanage (SRO), GD 417/188 (1789).
85. Ibid., GD 417/186 (1788).
86. Ibid., GD 417/188 (1789).
87. Ibid., GD 417/186 (1788).
88. Edinburgh Commissary Records, CC8/6/50 (1787). In the case of lawburrows a person had to give security or might be imprisoned on the grounds that he or she was a danger to another.
89. Records of the Dean Orphanage (SRO), GD 417/185 (1787).
90. Edinburgh City Archives, Burgh Court Processes, Box 380 (1829).
91. W.P. Alison, Observations on the Management of the Poor in Scotland (1840), 36.

CONCLUSION

There is no evidence in this study of women and work to suggest that in eighteenth century Edinburgh women were cut off from the wider community in a private world of domesticity. In the urban context at least, most women's employment took them well outside the confines of their own homes. The examination of women's employment and what it entailed, as revealed in the records, suggests that perhaps historians of women's history in the early modern period, have been too preoccupied with women's private versus public role in society. As has been noted above, the preoccupation with women's domestic role has caused women's employment to be seen as a mere 'extension of their household tasks'. However in eighteenth century urban Scotland, certainly in Edinburgh, working women are seen operating in the same world as their male counterparts. This study shows, that men and women not only carried on their activities in the same world but had many common experiences. In the eighteenth century, women were part of the great web of credit, also acting as factrices for their husbands when the latter were away from home on business. Men gave women credit and stood caution for them when required, while men like Blackwood and Bell were willing to act as factors for them as they did for male merchants.

Apart from shopkeeping, the eighteenth century was very much a craft and trade world in which many women shared the running of a family business with their husbands. This did not mean that they necessarily worked 'side by side', for indeed the wright, surgeon,

flesher and other tradesmen were often out of the workplace contacting customers, patients or other tradesmen. Robert Cumming's wife¹ who organised much of the family business was not an exception. In this situation, as Dorothy Thompson puts it, 'Men and women shared a vocabulary of work as well as family, understood and respected each other's contribution, recognised the interdependence of their various jobs, and shared in the training and rearing of children...'.² Although husband and wife are seen in some sense here to be co-operating, at the same time within this situation they each had an area for decision-making; an example of this would be Isobel Kippie who pledged clothes in order to raise the necessary money in a crisis. This opportunity for personal initiative, particularly applied to women who had jobs different from those of their husbands.

This was quite a different environment from its late nineteenth century counterpart in which the husband was perceived as the sole breadwinner. Even although in the eighteenth century women might work together, like the fishmongers' wives who departed to Fife to bring in fish, they were doing so for their families; the husbands in the case in point would be perfectly aware that their wives were involved in this illicit pursuit. In this period it is unlikely that women themselves saw any conflict between home and work, or 'private' and 'public'. Women were concerned about their children's welfare but their (the women's) work was seen as contributing to that welfare. In the area of family and home and also in relation to employment, husband and wife were not in competition. Andrew Lawson, a barber, could say without embarrassment that his wife 'makes some

broadcloth and linen which she sells or trocks or which he trocks for wigs...'. It was understood that a wife would add to the family's subsistence if at all possible.

However, the darker side of women's existence has been highlighted by looking at poverty in the Capital. As someone has observed, a history of poverty is largely a history of women. As has been noted, women with children were particularly vulnerable. The only work available to such women was often some low-paid job such as washing or sewing. It is significant that many of the women who petitioned for help, did not complain of having no work, but rather that the work was so poorly paid that it could not sustain their families. This problem of low-pay in the service sector is still with us. John Brewer has spoken of the 'hidden subsidy'³ to the upper classes by merchants, who never had their bills paid. In a service town like Edinburgh the same could be said in relation to women who supplied many low-paid services.

Another example of the way in which women were expected to provide a service, particularly significant in that it was seen to be a skilled service, is midwifery. In the eighteenth century doctors such as Young and Hamilton gave instruction to women and had books specially printed for them, yet as has been noted above Hamilton stated that the midwives could 'afford their time and trouble for a much smaller recompense than male Practitioners...'. With this attitude to women's education it is not surprising that when asked

about his women's class by the Royal Commission Hamilton answered that 'the university do not recognise it'.⁴

The picture of single women that has emerged from this study suggests that access to formal education may have been easier in the Capital than elsewhere. For example, although Ann MacDonald was the daughter of a tailor who was not well-off, her father did make the effort to send her to one of the many private teachers in the burgh. Again, the picture we have of Anne Faichney and her standing in her employer's shop, such as her ability to read and understand the day-books, suggests that some parents may have seen employment in this kind of shop a means of social mobility for their daughters. Lucy Bland claims that by the 1880s 'for the single woman, ... it was now becoming possible to exist outside the nuclear family',⁵ but the present study shows that long before that in eighteenth century Edinburgh at least, women as young as twenty were setting up in the trading community, sometimes in partnership with other women. This is not to deny that the majority of girls must have lost out on this kind of opportunity.

A point often made by historians of women and work in England is that it is difficult to discuss women's employment because women who turn up in the records are rarely given a work designation. Though this may be the case in English records, it should not be assumed that the same is the case in Scottish records. The legal records used in this study show quite clearly that the recorders took care to identify the women in question. In both the commissary court

and burgh court processes, which deal with debt and include actions raised in these courts by women, the latter are usually given a work designation. To say that 'very occasionally, terms (my emphasis) such as midwife, shopkeeper, mantuamaker are used'⁶ is to misunderstand the significance of such identification. These are not 'terms', but employment designations given to women who had raised court actions on their own behalf when claiming debts due to them in the course of their business or employment. The details given in depositions such as 'has been in the business of graveclothes-making for many years' or 'is a midwife by profession' show that the women concerned perceived themselves as being in a particular employment. Again, the lack of employment designation is put down to the lack of job-continuity, yet although there were women for whom intermittent employment was the norm the evidence shows that there were many women who carried on the same work over many years, underlined by expressions such as 'in use to do', 'have got the like payments from others' and so on. Even when a woman is identified by the designation 'wife (or widow) of' the deposition itself and the body of the process will reveal her employment. This kind of information is available because of the fact that the woman, even if married, has raised an action in her own name for the recovery of debt due to her in relation to her employment, whatever that might be.

This study shows that examination of the kind of work in which women were involved and of what it entailed, has the added advantage of conveying something of women's experience of work, in a way that

mere statistics cannot do. For example, when it is revealed that as well as making graveclothes women also went to the house of the dead and dressed the corpse, and that these graveclothes-makers included the wives of goldsmiths, writers to the signet, university professors and ministers, the employment of graveclothes-maker becomes more significant. In the English context it has been assumed that those who dressed the corpse were poor people. If this is true, closer examination of the different circumstances in Scotland may tell us something about the Scottish attitude to death. More work needs to be done on the kind of work women were doing and what it entailed; only in this way will the full significance of women's experience of work become known. Mere statistics will add little to this aspect of women's history.

The involvement of women in the world of work as revealed in the Edinburgh evidence for this period, must have produced a very different kind of person from the women who were to be caught up in the later nineteenth century demand for women's rights. This must be true of both single and married women. Octavia Hill wrote regarding middle class women in the nineteenth century:

'... customs have altered in a marked manner; it used to be difficult for a girl to walk alone, and it was considered almost impossible for her to travel in omnibuses or third-class trains. The changes in custom with regard to such matters have opened out fresh possibilities of work'. 7

This was written in 1899. Yet in 1712 Janet Anderson the milliner, daughter of James Anderson, historian and writer to the signet, was walking around London on her own, seeing to her business

and writing home to her friends in Edinburgh telling them all about her activities. The question is, what happened in between her world and the nineteenth century world to which Octavia Hill looked back? One of the most interesting aspects of women's work to have emerged from this study is not unrelated to this question: the presence of so many wives and widows of the professional classes in the world of work in eighteenth century Edinburgh. Their presence not only raises the question as to when these women withdrew from work in Scotland but also points to the need for further discussion and investigation of, the whole question of the Scottish attitude to work. However, until local studies are carried out for other Scottish towns in the eighteenth century, it is impossible to tell whether the presence of such women was the norm or if this was a phenomenon peculiar to the capital where, because of the clientele, a business or occupation was seen to give a woman status.⁸

In the 1850s an article appeared in the English Woman's Journal in which the writer identified the obstacle to middle class women's participation in the world of work as a matter of class ('caste'):

'women will not manage washing and sewing machines, work electric telegraphs, keep tradesmen's books, or set up shops, so long as they think, and so long as society enforces the idea, that by so doing they forfeit caste and are rendered unfit to associate with 'ladies' though their fathers, brothers and prospective husbands may each and all be engaged in some form of business'.⁹

If the above passage also describes the Scottish context at this period (the 1850s), although it should not be assumed that it does, then that world was a very different one to that portrayed in

the records of eighteenth century Edinburgh. To discover how and why this difference came about, however, demands an investigation of another period, that is, the period between the 1780s and 1880s. Only the investigation of that later period combined with further studies of Scottish towns in the eighteenth century, will prepare the ground for constructive dialogue between Scottish and English historians, not only about women's work, but also about women's history in general.

NOTES

1. (Robert Cummings' wife) See Chapter 4, p. 209.
2. Dorothy Thompson, 'Women, Work and Politics in Nineteenth-Century England: The Problem of Authority', in J. Rendall, ed., Equal or Different. Women's Politics, 1800-1914, p.62.
3. N. McKendrick, J. Brewer and J.H. Plumb, The Birth of a Consumer Society, p. 198.
4. Quoted in L. Rosner, Medical Education in the Age of Improvement, p. 11.
5. L. Bland, 'The Married Woman, the "New Woman" and the Feminist: Sexual Politics of the 1890s', in J. Rendall, ed., op. cit., p. 145.
6. R.A. Houston, Scottish Literacy and the Scottish Identity, p. 58.
7. M. Vicinus, Independent Women, p. 220.
8. (Anne Strachan), See Chapter 3, p. 169.
9. J. Rendall, '"A Moral Engine"? Feminism, Liberalism and the English Woman's Journal', in J. Rendall, ed., op. cit., p. 121.

APPENDIX I

WOMEN SHOPKEEPERS IN THE RECORDS OF THE MERCHANT
COMPANY OF EDINBURGH

Note: all entries are to be found in the Company's Minute Books under the dates given unless otherwise stated. Dates refer to all foregoing entries. Question mark indicates that identification is not absolutely certain. Dates in Bell's ledger are those in which the individual appears.

ADAM, Helen, sp. George Rattray, surgeon-apothecary: he and his wife warned for not entering; 1709. He denies any trade within the Company's jurisdiction except a little muslin which his wife took from a bad debtor and the linen she buys from Edinburgh merchants to make grave-clothes; forbear to fine until further enquiry; 1709. Mrs Rattray compeared and admitted she gave some cloth to Katherine Brown who is poor and frequents her house, for the latter to sell; 1710. See also Appendix 4

ADAMS, Mrs: pays dues; 1692, 1701

ADAMSON, Marion, sp. Ralph Brown in Leith: acknowledges trading; list to be made of traders in Leith; 1706

AIRD, Annabella: poinded; had been apprentice to Charles Gray; to be enrolled in Company for £6 Scots and 6d quarter dues; if she marries, husband to enter as member and pay dues; 1713

- AITCHISON, Louisa, lately come from London, her husband John Roughhead, surgeon-apothecary, intending to come back to Edinburgh being a burgess's son; to be fined £20 which is to be his entry money; 1712. Produced her husband's burgess ticket; 1712
- ALESER, Mrs, Quaker, in Old Provost's Close: poided; 1709
- ALLAN, Christian, sp. Thomas Mathie, seaman: denies trade except some napkins her husband sent home; he has been away 7 years; fine delayed pending enquiry; 1710. Goods for apparel seized, to pay £20 Scots; 1712
- ALLAN, Janet, rel. Ensign Wm. Haliburton: asks back her poided 'webb of coarse stuff'; fined and warned to trade only on market day; 1705
- ANDERSON, Elizabeth, burgess's dau., shopkeeper in Laigh Exchange; paid dues; 1708
- ANDERSON, Janet, milliner, dau. James Anderson, W.S.: among members to be expunged, 'out of trade'; 1737. But see Appendix 2.
- ANDREW, Mrs, sp. Mr Geo. A., minister: he 'to be spoken to as his wife is said to trade in several sorts of goods'; 1704
- ARBUCKLE, Mrs: paid dues, 1692, 1693
- ARMSTRONG, Agnes, in the Cowgate: on list of non-entrants, 1698
- BARTLEMAN, Mrs: sold muslin for George Jolly in Prestonpans; to pay fine of £20 Scots; 1709

BELL, Betty: found unfree, in the Exchange, 1709. Pounded, to pay £8 3s 8d dues; if she marries, husband not to be obliged to enter; 1713. To be taken off list of those paying dues as out of trade, insolvent or dead; 1721. Charity to Elizabeth Bell; 1748

BELL, Helen, burgess's dau.: pound returned; lately set up; entry money delayed pending enquiry; 1713. 'Long time trader', to be pounded and burgess rights verified; 1713

BENNETT, Elizabeth, shopkeeper in the Exchange: admitted burgess and paid dues; 1685

BLAIR, Mrs: her husband from the Canongate accused of trading, states that 'his wife has kept shop... since he was married which was about 2 years but altogether his trade is but small; to be fined if he continues; 30-40 other Canongate shopkeepers summoned to the Company's Hall; 1705

BLAIR, Mrs: compears on behalf of her dau. - Watson, admits that latter lately brought goods from London, some on commission for others; asserts that most of her trade is making and dressing linens; buys from Edinburgh merchants; working to support her mother; dismissed but warned not to trade under pain of £20; 1709

BLAIR, Margaret: out of trade; 1737

BOOG, Widow: ?Christian Boog, owes quarter dues; 1684-5. On list of non-entrants; 1698

BOWDEN, Mrs: paid dues; 1701. Among list of those whose quarter dues are expunged; 1707

BRAND, Margaret: discovered having kept a shop for 2 years; officer seized cloth from her which had been entrusted to her by a Bo'nness merchant; acknowledged she had 'no privilege'; fined; 1703

BROADFOOT, Grizel, burgess's dau.: very poor, given back remnant of Holland poided; 1706

BRODIE, Mrs; Mr Brodie, mason, accused of unfree trading, his wife compeared and acknowledged selling stockings, linens, etc. 'in a laigh chop off mercat days'; to pay fine but if he produces his burgess ticket, and pays ordinary dues, will be accepted as fine; 1705

BROWN, Alison, burgess's dau.: paid dues; 1713

BROWN, Elizabeth, burgess's dau.: paid dues; 1713. Action by her against debtors, 1711 (ECA Burgh Court Processes Box 48 Bundle 126); (?) in John Bell's ledger, 1716-23 (SRO GD 241/434)

BROWN, Isobel: asserts that she is a burgess's dau., asks time to produce father's burgess ticket; proved that her father George Brown was a burgess; her poided goods returned; 1705. (?) in John Bell's ledger, 1714-17 (SRO GD 241/434)

BROWN, Katherine, in Peebles' Wynd: enquiry into the goods she sold some of which she had bought from 'a young lass Janet Lawrie who traded in the town and now is gone for England'; 1704. Given some cloth to sell for her maintenance by Mrs Rattray (q.v.); cited as unfree trader and goods poided; 1710

BROWN, Mrs: accused of unfree trading; sells muslin, cambric, silks; 1706

BROWN, Mrs, in the Exchange: states her husband's dues have been paid; 1703

BROWN, Mrs, in Peebles' Wynd (? Katherine B, above): found unfree; 1709

BROWN, Mrs: her husband Malcolm B. states that goods in his custody were partly given to his wife by a debtor for candles, ale, etc.; 1705

BROWN, 'two Mistresses', in the Exchange: pointed, to pay £8 3s 8d quarter dues; if they marry, husbands not to be obliged to enter; 1713

BRUCE, Mrs Anna, burgess's dau.: consigned her dues; 1707

BRUCE, Mrs Margaret, Marlin's Wynd: on list of non-entrants, 1698. Warned as a non-entrant, then in Bishopsland; 1707

BUCHAN, Bethia, dau. John B., advocate and agent for the royal burghs' vote: to be enrolled and to pay quarter dues, fine reduced to £10 Scots, paid by Robert B. W.S. on her behalf; 1714. Also in John Bell's ledger, 1713 (SRO GD 241/434). Died 1725 (SRO CC8/8/89)

BUCHANAN, Janet: 'denies trade except in soap and threid', to be looked into; 1709

BUNTIN, Mrs, from Glasgow: Company treasurer found linen in her chamber and many people buying and selling; to get goods back on payment of fine of £20; 1705. To be pointed to value of £20; 1706

BURNET, Anna: 'extremely poor'; Scots linen given to her by Mrs Douglas 'to make something of her own'; to be allowed to trade in Scots goods on market days only; to grant a bond to that effect under penalty of £20; 1705. Admits she has 'no privilege' but sells linen only on market days at her stall, occasionally sells between market days 'which she did not look upon to be a fault'; had got some linen from Janet Gray who is to be fined; 1705. Sells stockings and linen and keeps a shop in the Lawnmarket to maintain her sister's 2 children; produced a licence of 1708; compears and admits trading but produces an 'Act' of Council of 1708 allowing her to do so; 1710. Because of poverty not fined but to pay ordinary dues and upset; 1712. To be taken off list of those paying quarter dues as out of trade, insolvent or dead; 1721

BYERS, Mrs Mary: denied she ever traded 'in a shillingsworth'; officer to make further enquiry; 1704

CAMERON, Helen, dau. Daniel C., merchant, and Anne Denholm, shop-keeper (disposition, 1710: SRO CC8/4/84): refused to pay a bill; 1698 (SRO RD 4/82. fo 412); paid dues to Company; 1699. Paid dues; 1701.

CAMPBELL, Anna: to get her poinded goods back on payment of fine, 1705. Fails to compear but keeps an open shop; to be poinded to value of £20 and goods roused; 1705. (?) Licence to her to keep a school; 1682 (Town Council Minutes)

CAMPBELL, Isobel: expunged for non-payment of dues; 1727

CAMPBELL, Lillias, had been apprentice to Agnes Broadfoot: to be enrolled on payment of £6 and 6d quarter dues; if she marries, husband to enter as member and pay dues; 1713. To be taken off list of those out of trade, insolvent or dead; 1721; expunged for non-payment of dues; 1727. Account for shoes and ribbon due to her; 1718 (SRO Campbell of Barcaldine Muniments: GD 170/358). In John Bell's ledger, 1714-16 (SRO GD 241/434)

CAMPBELL, Mary: paid dues; 1684-5, 1692. now sp. Robert Lightbody, merchant, paid dues and signed the book 'as a member'; 1701. (?) Account due to her; 1703 (SRO Clerk of Penicuik Muniments: GD 18/2171/2). (?) In John Bell's ledger, 1718-22 (SRO GD 241/434)

CAMPBELL, Sarah, sp. George White, merchant in Luckenbooths, married 1693. Paid dues; 1690, 1692. Consigned husband's dues; 1703. Account to her from Campbell of Barcaldine? (SRO GD 170/239)

CAMPBELL, Mrs, at head of Gray's Close: admitted she dealt in cambric, Holland and muslin, fined; 1704. Denied trading in women's apparel; 1704

CARSON, Isobel: on list of non-entrants, 1698

CHALMERS, Janet: paid dues; 1701. On list of those whose quarter dues to be expunged; 1707. (?) Accounts to her from Clerks of Penicuik; 1704-9 (SRO GD18/2172)

CHAMBERS, Mrs, in Leith: paid dues; 1714. One of those not to have to pay dues any more; 1721

CHEISLEY, Mrs: found unfree; 1709

CHEISLEY, Elizabeth, burgess's dau. lately set up; poind returned,
entry money delayed pending enquiry; 1713

CHEISLEY, Janet, burgess's dau.: paid dues; 1708

CHRISTIE, Elizabeth, in the Cowgate: on list of non-entrants; 1698

COCKBURN, Mrs Anna, in Todrick's Wynd: found unfree; 1710

COCKBURN, Cecilia, burgess's dau. lately set up: poind returned;
entry money delayed pending enquiry; 1713. 'Long time
trader', to be poinded and burgess rights verified;
1713. To be taken off list of those paying dues as
out of trade, insolvent or dead; 1721. In John
Bell's ledger, 1720 (SRO GD 241/434)

COCKBURN, Sarah, sp. Robert Kyle, W.S., married 1670; dau. John C.,
tailor, and Sarah Inglis (surgeon's dau.); paid entry;
1686. Paid dues; 1692, 1693.

COUTTS, Janet, in the Luckenbooths, sp. Thomas Mushet, merchant;
found unfree and failed to compear after several
warnings; 1721. Out of trade; 1733. Made a dis-
position to the Orphan Hospital of a shop in the
Luckenbooths, reserving the liferent; 1742. Died by
1755 (SRO Records of the Dean Orphanage: GD 417/209/1,
GD 417/183/7a)

COWAN, Mrs, rel. James C., merchant: another woman admitted buying
muslin from her; 1710. Produced her husband's burgess
ticket and paid upset; 1713

COWAN, Mrs, in Leith: sent her son with her late husband's burgess
ticket; she being unwell is given 14 days or goods to
be confiscated; 1709. Poinded; 1710

CRAIG, Katherine: rel. Alexander Short in Stirling: found selling
serges in Edinburgh; 1699

CRICHTON, Agnes: compears and produces her father's burgess ticket;
to pay quarter dues; 1711. As she is deaf she
employed Elizabeth Eliot to assist her; 1711

CROOKS, Jean: out of trade; 1733

CUMMING, Katherine: out of trade; 1733

CUMMING, Mrs: her husband, James C., having served apprenticeship
asks time to pay for his burgess-ship, 'especially
as his wife has paid her fine'; 1704

CUMMING, Margaret, sister of James C.: who was his servant and
apprentice, has paid £9 Scots and is willing to pay
quarter dues thereafter, approved; 1712

CUNNINGHAM, Nelly, in the Low Exchange, burgess's dau.: consigns
dues; 1712. (?) in John Bell's ledger, 1716-19
(SRO GD 241/434)

CURRIE, Jean: paid part of fine for unfree trading; 1688

CURRIE, Margaret, in the Exchange: paid entry; 1688

CUTHBERT, Mrs: paid dues; 1701

CUTHBERTSON, Janet, in the Grassmarket: on list of non-entrants;
1698

DALLAS, Alison, shopkeeper in the Laigh Exchange, burgess's dau.:
paid dues; paid £8 8s 8d entry; 1714

DAVIDSON, Christian: asked for poind back as she had no trade but roomsetting except when lodgers needed 'necessities' or she got commissions from the country she bought a little linen; petition granted provided she did not sell apparel or buy linen except from Edinburgh merchants; 1707

DAVIDSON, Margaret: Mr Hodge, baxter, craved back a piece of muslin poinded from her; 1710

DICKS, Mrs: promised to pay dues; 1703

DOBSON, Sarah: fined for unfree trading; 1688

DON, Margaret, in the Exchange: paid entry, having Dean of Guild licence; 1688

DONALDSON, Mrs, in Blackfriars' Wynd: trades only in a little muslin, not resolved to stay in Edinburgh as her husband is to get a job with the Excise; Company decide to fine husband £14; 1709. She compears and states that by all her trade 'she never made a crown in the year'; had bought muslin from Mrs Cowan in Niddry's Wynd; she and husband willing to grant bond for past transgressions, poind ordered back; 1710

DRUMMOND, Margaret, dau. late John D., skinner: allowed small timber shop possessed by her at west door of Tolbooth Kirk, 1698 (ECA Town Council Minutes, Vol. 36, p.117). On list of non-entrants; 1698. Petitions for time to pay entry money, granted, as 'she is but mean and a burgess's daughter keeping a shop of £6 Scots'; 1699

DUNBAR, Ann: out of trade; 1737

DUNOON, Christian: roup of stamped linen pointed from her and
disponed to the Company by her husband; 1705

EDMONSTON, Marion, in the Bowhead: on list of non-entrants; 1698

EDWARDS, Mrs, an Englishwoman: states that she only makes linens
for women, for which she pays dues to the Tailors'
Incorporation, but when she goes to London she buys
goods to sell in Edinburgh to defray the expense of
travelling; to pay 30s: 1705. A gentlewoman of the
Countess of Moray, to be allowed to keep a shop;
1705 (ECA Town Council Minutes, Vol. 36, p.386).
Compears and pays £24 Scots for bygone trade and bound
herself to pay 15s sterling annually for her trade;
1706

ELIOT, Elizabeth: pointed but found to be only the servant of Mrs
Agnes Crichton who is deaf and needs her assistance;
point returned to Agnes; 1711. In John Bell's ledger,
1711-17 (SRO GD 241/434)

ELIOT, Mrs, burgess's dau.: point returned as lately set up; entry
money delayed pending enquiry; 1713

ELPHINSTON, Jean: out of trade; 1733

EWING, Anna: allowed 14 days to pay her fine of £20; 1706

FAIRFAX, Mary: goods pointed on being discovered selling plaids and
muslin; 1698. Unfree trader, 1699

FERGUSON, Janet: rel. William Brown; paid dues; 1698, 1701

FERRIE, Margaret: compears and produces father's burgess ticket; promises to pay dues; 1707. She and Agnes Kellie produce their fathers' burgess tickets and promise to pay dues; 1714

FINNEY, Mrs, buttonmaker; promised to enter within half a year; 1703

FORREST, Euphame, burgess's dau.: consigns dues; 1712

FRANCE, Mrs Grizel, shopkeeper in the Exchange; acknowledges she was apprentice to William Cumming but that her father was not a burgess, which being considered she is fined 20s sterling for past transgression; 1715

FRANCIE (? Frurie), Margaret: produced father's burgess ticket and promised to pay dues; 1714

FRANK, Margaret, in the Exchange in partnership with Janet Justice, q.v.: claimed to be a burgess's dau.; newly set up, to be allowed to Whitsunday to pay dues; 1705

FRASER, Mrs: paid dues; 1690

FRIER, Helen: unfree trader; 1735

FRIER, Katherine, rel. Robert Steedman: expunged for non-payment of dues; 1727

FROG, Elizabeth, dau. Bethia Dundas, shopkeeper, and Alexander Frog, merchant: paid dues; 1699. See Dundas, Bethia, Appendix 4.

GAIRNS, Euphemia: unfree trader; 1706

GARDNER, Elizabeth: paid dues; 1693

GARDNER, Euphemia; unfree trader; 1735

GEDDES, Margaret: expunged for non-payment of dues; 1727

GEDDES, Mrs: her husband, John G. accused of unfree trading;
 she compeared and stated that she only sold some
 coarse linen 'made by herself which she sells on
 mercat days', refused to depone whether she sold
 'off' market days; to give a bond under £20 penalty;
 1705

GERRIE, Mrs, said to live in Hart's Close: 'a considerable trader';
 1710

GIBB, Elspeth, in the Exchange in partnership with Jean Weir: paid
 dues; 1703

GIBSON, Agnes: enquiry made whether she had paid fine; 1706

GIBSON, Margaret; consigned dues; 1703

GILCHRIST, Elizabeth, in the Laigh Exchange: paid dues; 1703.

Robert Nisbet, 'chopkeeper in the Laigh Exchange' to
 whom she is now married compeared, to be admitted to
 the Company only if he produces his burgess ticket
 obtained through his wife 'who is a burgess's daughter
 and is a member of this Company'; 1710. To be
 taken off list of those paying dues as out of trade,
 insolvent or dead; 1721

GILCHRIST, Margaret, shopkeeper beside John Hay's above Fountain
Close: found unfree; admits trading in 'lows powther
and shot and sometimes knittings'; warned not to trade
in apparel or be fined £20; to keep a 'watchful eye
over her'; 1709. Compears and denies trade, having
got married and intending to go to live in Glasgow;
1710

GILLIES, Margaret, burgess's dau.: paid dues; 1713

GLASGOW, Mary, dau. of Deacon of the Glasgow Weavers; agrees to
pay her upset; 1706. To be further poided to value
of £20; 1706

GLEN, Margaret, rel. George - : owed quarter dues; 1684-5. Paid
entry; 1686

GLENDINNING, Mary: confesses she sells fabrics for 'Katherine
Blair a woman in Bo'ness who desired her to sell the
same and buy her again therewith ... to help her
maintain her 4 poor grandchildren'; to pay £20 Scots;
1713

GLYN, Mrs, Englishwoman: paid fine of £8 for past trading; 1709

GORDON, Elizabeth: entrant; 1691-2

GORDON, Jean: poided, had been apprentice to William Cumming; to
be enrolled for £6 and pay 6d quarterly; if she
marries, her husband to enter and pay dues; 1713.
In John Bell's ledger, 1715-18 (SRO GD 241/434)

GORDON, Mrs, in the Krames: paid dues; 1717

GOURLAY, Anna: unfree trader; 1735

GRAHAM, Helen: paid dues; 1699

GRAHAM, Mrs, in the Exchange: owed dues; 1684-6. Paid entry;
1686. Paid 3 years' dues; 1687. Paid dues; 1692

GRAY, Janet, dau. Samuel G., procurator, and Margaret Cheisley,
shopkeeper: to pay £8 3s 8d dues, if she marries her
husband not to be obliged to enter; 1713. Paid entry
dues; 1714. In John Bell's ledger, 1709-20 (SRO
GD 241/434). See also Appendix 4.

GRIER, Mrs: paid dues; 1701

GUTHRIE, Mrs: deficient in quarter dues; 1690. Paid dues, 1692,
1693.

HADDEN, 'Mistress': paid bygone quarter dues; 1697

HALIBURTON, Isobel, rel. James Lithgow, merchant. Married, secondly,
Mr Samuel Nimmo, late minister at Colinton: accused of
keeping a shop in town; burgess ticket produced, paid
dues and promised to sign the book; 1707

HALIBURTON, Mrs, from Musselburgh: goods roused for benefit of the
Merchant Maiden Hospital; to be fined; 1706. Cir-
cumstances to be looked into and fine levied; 1706.
Asks for bond back which she granted when poinded;
refused, but poind returned as she is poor and has
2 fatherless children whom she supports by her own
handywork and selling ale; 1707

HAMILTON, Jean: poinded; denied trading until recently having been
in London seeing a friend, brought back some small
things; does not intend to trade in future; burgess's
dau., to pay dues and upset; 1710. Expunged for non-
payment of dues; 1727

HAMILTON, Margaret, rel. James Tennant: an indigent member of the Company, given charity; 1726

HAY, Bethia: paid dues; 1704

HAY, Elizabeth, (? wife of Adam Lind): paid dues; 1704. Among those who failed to compear after being warned as non-entrant; 1715. unfree trader; 1735 (ECA Dean of Guild Minute Book, 1735-7)

HAY, Grizel: paid dues; 1704. Her husband John Barclay denies having trade except selling off what his wife had before marriage, she having paid her upset; if he produces his burgess ticket his payment of £8 8s 8d to go as upset, if not only as a fine; 1706.
(?) Account due to her from Lady Balcaskie; 1702
(ECA BCP Box 34, Bundle 94)

HENDERSON, Margaret: paid dues; 1693

HEPBURN, Jean, in the Luckenbooths: unfree trader; denies any trade but buttonmaking; enquiry to be made; 1707

HEPBURN, Mrs: paid dues; 1692

HERIOT, Magdalene: paid £4 8s 0d as part of upset; 1700

HERIOT, Margaret: paid her dues and upset before marriage to John Kirkpatrick who offered this as his defence when accused of unfree trading; 1705. Her husband asks that her £4 paid as part of her upset before marriage, as a burgess's daughter, be put towards his dues; 1704

HILL, Rachael; paid dues; 1703

HODGE, Widow, in Potteraw: sells cloth only on market day; 1706

HOWIESON, Christian: states she is only partner with Miss Ogilvie who has paid her upset and quarter dues; asks to be free of a fine 'until she marry or get a separate shop she being a burgess's daughter'; ordered to pay £8 8s 8d quarter dues and be free of further fine; 1706. Being ill, pointing to be delayed until she recovers; 1706

HUNTER, Janet, sp. Alexander Reid, wright: stockings seized from her, said she bought these 'on trust' from John Pringle, merchant; 1706. With Janet Simpson said to trade 'considerably' in stockings, summoned as unfree and pointed for not compearing; 1708. Her fine delayed until circumstances looked into; 1708. In Castlehill, found unfree; 1709. Summoned and admits selling stockings; her husband has been away 7 years and this is her only livelihood; because of poverty to be allowed to sell stockings but only at market under pain of fine; 1709

HUTCHISON, Mrs: entrant to the Company; 1691-2

HUTTON, Margaret: on list of non-entrants; 1698

INGLIS, Margaret, dau. Robert I., goldsmith: paid dues; 1693

INGLIS, Marion: dau. Robert I., goldsmith: pointed; to pay £8 3s 8d dues; if she marries her husband not to be obliged to pay; 1713. (?)In John Bell's ledger, 1711-23 (SRO 241/434)

JAMIESON, Margaret, in the Exchange: paid dues; 1699

JARDINE, Jean, sp. John Murray: paid entry; 1686 (Dean of Guild licence)

JEFFREY, Jean: 30 yards tartan pointed from her; 1699

JOHNSTON, Janet: on list of non-entrants; 1698

JOHNSTON, Mary: apprehended selling goods, admits having no freedom to trade; fined £12 and banned from trading on pain of £20; 1705. Discharged her fine on account of poverty, not to trade; 1705

JUSTICE, Janet, dau. John J., merchant, in the Exchange in partnership with Margaret Frank, q.v.: newly set up, allowed till Whitsunday to pay dues; 1705. Paid £6 to treasurer and quarter dues to clerk; 1706. Protests an unpaid bill; 1713 (SRO Register of Deeds: RD4/138). Took Margaret Masterton as apprentice; 1725 (SRO Register House Papers: RH9/1/226). Expunged for non-payment; 1727

JUSTICE, Mrs (? above): compears and asserts that goods pointed from her were remains of goods lodged with her by late Adam Boog to sell, he having owed her chamber rent; to be returned on payment of £20; 1710

KELLO, Agnes: compears and produces father's burgess ticket and promises to pay dues; 1707. Ditto; 1714. (?) In John Bell's ledger, shopkeeper in the Krames, 1715-23 (SRO GD 241/434)

KENNOWAY, Christian: Among number of women not burgess's daus. who have considerable trade in apparel, to the prejudice of all burgesses daughters and all members of the Company; Master and assistants to frame a suitable Act; 1716. Account due to her by Lady Panmure, 1713-14 (SRO Dalhousie Muniments: GD 45/18/1010). Her testament recorded, 27 January 1728 (SRO CC8/8/91)

KERR, Mrs, burgess's dau.: fined for non-payment of dues; 1710.
 Pounded; 1710

KINNEAR, Mrs: paid dues; 1704. Possibly Janet Meldrum, sp. John K.,
 minister; see Appendix 4

LANGLANDS, Jean, rel. William Horne, shipmaster in Bo'ness: licensed
 to keep 'a merchant shop'; 1696 (ECA Town Council
 Minutes, Volume 35, Bundle 256); goods pounded; 1699.
 Signed bond with Bo'ness merchant; 1699. Accused of
 unfree trading, selling to an Edinburgh merchant who
 claimed she gave it to him for a debt she owed; 1705.
 Muslin seized from 'Mrs Horn in Bo'ness', roused; 1705

LAUDER, Margaret: Expunged for non-payment of dues; 1727. (?) In
 John Bell's ledger, 1721-27 (SRO GD 241/434)

LAURIESON, Agnes: failed to compear; pounded and fined; 1706

LAWSON, Mrs: her husband Andrew L., barber, acknowledged that his
 wife made broadcloth and linen which she 'trucked' for
 wigs; 1704

LEES, Barbara: among those expunged as dead, insolvent or out of
 trade; 1737

LETUSE, Mrs: her husband and she compear and deny any trade,
 'but what his wife makes with her hands'; to be
 further enquiry; 1712

LIVINGSTON, Margaret, in the Lawnmarket: promises to pay dues by
 Whitsunday; 1703. (?) In John Bell's ledger, 1718-19
 (SRO GD 241/434)

LIVINGSTON, Mrs: compears and asserts that her husband is a burgess,
 she is willing to pay dues; 1706

LOUK, Mrs: unfree trader, said to live in Carnwath's lodging in
Lawnmarket; 1707

LOWRY, Marion: on list of non-entrants; 1698

LUCKMAN, Mrs: warned, to give information on her trade; 1710

MacDOUGALL, Mary: being examined positively denies trading in
apparel; her poind returned on promise to pay
Company's officer; 1715

MacFARLANE, Mrs, sp. Malcolm M., tailor and burgess: she keeps a
shop in the Luckenbooths; she compeared and paid dues
of entry and promised to bring his burgess ticket;
1714

MacGHIE, Agnes, in Canongatehead: denies trading except making
linens; 1709. Buying cloth in Canongate, agrees to
pay; 1716. Summoned and admits not being a burgess's
dau., but always buys from town merchants; security
taken for annual payment to the treasurer, £6;
1717

MachENDRY, Margaret, sometime shopkeeper in the Exchange: had paid
quarter dues, but now old and infirm and out of all
business, is in very hard circumstances; granted 20s
sterling for her subsistence; 1720. Charity 'as an
indigent member'; 1722, 1725

MackEE, Katherine, sp. Robert Bannatyne: paid dues; 1704

MackENNA, ---, partner of Betty SKENE (q.v.): said to have con-
siderable trade and to have a licence from the Town
Council; 1712

MACKINTOSH, Mary, dau. bailie M; paid dues; 1705. On list of those
expunged for non-payment of dues; 1707

MacLEAN, Agnes, in the High Exchange: paid dues; 1703

MacNEISH, Janet: among those warned as non-entrants; failed to
compear; 1716

MacQUEEN, Mrs, in the Grassmarket: found unfree; 1709

MALCOLM, --- , rel. Mr John Kinnaird, minister: paid dues; 1704

MARTIN, Mrs, lives in Society, sp. Andrew Lawson, baxter: paid dues;
1705

MAXWELL, Katherine, rel. David Wemyss; paid dues; 1733

MAXWELL, Marion, sp. William Henry: on list of non-entrants;
1698

MEEK, Janet, rel. Andrew Nisbet: paid dues; 1727

MELVILLE, Mrs: unfree trader; 1688

MILLER, Elizabeth, in the Laigh Exchange: her father stated that she
and a partner have now set up but 'they are but young
lasses', and asked for a delay in paying entry money:
not granted, to pay or be poinded; 1703

MITCHELL, Grizel: paid dues; 1690, 1692

MONCUR, Jean: expunged for non-payment of dues; 1727

MONTIER, Mrs: paid dues; 1701

MOSSMAN, Mrs Anna, in south side of Grassmarket: found unfree; 1709.
 Poind returned as a burgess's dau. lately set up;
 1709. Money delayed pending enquiry; 1713. Charity
 to her when widow of William Hardie; 1748

MURRAY, Mrs: paid dues; 1692

NAISMITH, Mrs: paid dues; 1692

NEILSON, Katherine, in the Laigh Exchange, dau. Walter N., W.S.:
 goods poinded; paid dues; 1703

NIMMO, Anna: entrant to the Company; 1691-2

NIVEN, Anna and BLAIR, Anna, shopkeepers in the Krames: Anna Niven's
 trade to be enquired into; 1709. With Anna Blair
 compears and admits they trade in needles, pins, laces
 and some muslin; not burgess's daus.; fined £20 for
 past transgression; 1710. (?) Bill owed to her from
 McLeod of McLeod; 1747. (McLeod Muniments: 3/29/225)
 Anna Blair's trade to be enquired into; 1709. Account
 due to her by Alexander Berrie, tailor in Leith for
 buttons; 1709 (ECA BCP Box 15 Bundle 4). In the
 Krames, protests a bill; 1718.

OGILVIE, Jean: paid dues; 1698, 1701. (?) In John Bell's ledger,
 1722-24 (SRO GD 241/434)

OSBORNE, Margaret, in the High Exchange, (?) dau. Henry O. of
 Peffermilne, merchant, (SRO CC8/8/85): her poind
 ordered back; 1703. To be taken off the list of
 those paying dues as out of trade, insolvent or
 dead; 1721. In John Bell's ledger, 1709-12 (SRO
 GD 241/434)

OWENS, Mrs: paid dues; 1690

PATERSON, Isobel: paid dues; 1690

PATERSON, Janet: paid dues; 1693

PATERSON, Margaret: promise to pay dues; 1697. Paid dues; 1701.

Tack of a shop beneath the stairs of the butter weighhouse, from town council; 1695. Tack of shop in Lawnmarket for 13 years; 1701. (ECA Town Council Minutes, Vol. 35, p. 255, Vol. 37, p.29)

PATTULLO, Alison: on list of non-entrants; 1698. Paid dues and is willing to pay quarter dues from now on; 1699. Paid dues; 1701

PATTULLO, ----, sp. George Gordon, advocate: to keep watch on her as an unfree trader; 1709. A few years back (when she was Mrs Campbell) had been found a substantial unfree trader and continually evaded their orders to prove her title, but because of Mr G's frankness, etc, to pay £5 sterling for past transgressions; to make 'pleasant payment' before next meeting, 1710. Fine later modified to 2 guineas; 1710. Her trade enquired into, if she is 'keeping a roup' to take a considerable poind from her'; 1710. Her husband, Mr G. advocate came and stated that the 'trade his lady had' was small and that they did not intend to go on trading since marriage, only to dispose of the stuff on hand; Company hear he is to arrange a lottery of apparel in his own or wife's name, to pay the £24 Scots he owes them; 1710

PETTILACE (? Patullo), Margaret, rel. James Robertson: paid dues; 1689

PATON, Margaret: entrant to the Company; 1691-2

PILLANS, Grizel, in partnership with Janet Stoddart in the Luckenbooths, dau. Mr James Pillans, Regent at the College: paid dues; 1703. Empowered to trade in the city 'as ane burgess and guildbrother' while single, for 100 merks Scots, payment to go as part of husband's entry if she marries; 1717 (Roll of Edinburgh Burgesses, p. 229). Protested a bill due by dau. of Sir Alexander Hope of Kerse; 1730 (SRO RD 3/180). Testament recorded, 23 September 1736, her brother Mr Thomas Pillans, merchant in Rotterdam, executor (SRO CC8/8/98)

PURDIE, Helen, merchant in Edinburgh: paid fine; 1715. Account owed to her by the Countess of Morton; 1721 (SRO Morton Muniments: GD 150/3272)

PURDIE, Margaret: poinded, 'does some small trade'; as she is poor, fine reduced from £20- 9; 1715

RAMSAY, Isobel: her muslins to be roup; 1703. Does not compear at her roup, given till the following Monday; 1703. Fined £4 Scots, not to sell again until legally qualified; 1703

RATTRAY, Margaret, burgess's dau., lately set up: entry money delayed until further enquiry; 1713. In John Bell's ledger, 1720-24 (SRO GD 241/434)/ Dead by 1737.

REID, Mrs, sp. Alexander R.: he and his wife said to have a great trade in stockings; she compeared pleading poverty; to produce her husband's burgess ticket and will be taken as his entry money; 1714

ROBERTSON, Barbara, in the Krames: poinded; 1710

ROBERTSON, Elizabeth: had died by 1737

ROBERTSON, Margaret: goods poinded; 1699. Paid dues; 1699.

(?) In John Bell's ledger, 1709-12 (SRO GD 241/434)

ROBERTSON, Mrs: poinded for trading in apparel; paid fine, reduced from £20 to £12; poind returned; 1713

RONALD, Mrs: among those warned as non-entrants, failed to compear; 1716

ROSS, Jean, shop in the Laigh Exchange: (?) In John Bell's ledger, 1709-14 (SRO GD 241/434). Consigned dues; 1712.

ROSS, Margaret, kept shop in Forrester's Wynd; 1701 (Dean of Guild Minute Book). Poinded; had been apprentice to Francis Newton, to enrol for £6 and 6d quarter dues; if she marries, husband to enter as a member and pay dues; 1713. To be taken off list of those paying dues as out of trade, insolvent or dead; 1721

RUSSELL, Mrs: claims that the 16 years' quarter dues demanded by treasurer is unfair as she did not trade several years, craved mitigation; reduced to 8 years; 1712

RUTHERFORD, Mrs: found unfree trader; 1721

SCOTT, Elizabeth: fined for unfree trading, acknowledged she kept a shop in the Exchange; 1704. Alias 'Madam Cheisley', claims she has a licence from the Dean of Guild, but to get a licence from the Dean of Guild; paid £12; 1706

SCOTT, Katherine, dau. of --- Scott, minister: poinded, admits having brought some goods from London for her country friends but does not mean to trade in Edinburgh; paid 14s Scots and given poind back; 1713

SCOULAR, Helen: out of trade; 1733

SETON, Mary, at head of Forrester's Wynd: paid dues; 1701. Admitted trading in dornick linen in her chamber and a few stockings which she gets from the north; traded for 2 years, to pay £20; 1709.

SHAND, Beatrix: with Mary Young accused of trading in apparel. Claim to be burgesses' daus. and grand-daus.; to be allowed until Whitsunday to enter; 1717. Paid dues; 1718. In John Bell's ledger, 1719-22 (SRO GD 241/434). To be taken off list of those paying dues as out of trade, insolvent or dead; 1721.

SHAW, Mrs, sp. of Alexander S., soldier: he licensed to keep a shop as a soldier, 'doth keep a shop in Edinburgh at least his wife doeth'; seeing he is not a burgess but his wife is willing to pay what Company thinks fit; to pay £9 Scots and 'overlook her for some time until further order'; 1714

SHAW, Mrs: stuff poinded, says her husband is a burgess and she is willing to pay dues; 1710

SHERIFF, Alison: expunged for non-payment of dues; 1727

SIMPSON, Elizabeth: summoned for unfree trading; 'trades considerably in stockings' with Janet Hunter; poinded on non-compearing; 1708. Compears and alleges she has only trade in a few stockings, mostly on market days; very poor, fine for past faults reduced to £6; paid dues; 1708

SINCLAIR, Euphame: poinded, fined 1 guinea; 1714

SKENE, Betty, dau. Mr Thomas S., advocate, one of the city assessors: has only a small stock having begun to trade; to pay dues; 1707. Having lost almost all goods in the late fire in the Canongate is given back a poind and her dues are waived until she recovers her loss by roup; 1708. Found unfree; 1709. Having licence from Town Council is willing to pay for upset; 1712

SKIRVING, Margaret: on list of non-entrants; 1698

SOMERVILLE, Margaret: on list of non-entrants; 1698. Given a little shop, which may be demolished if the Council so decide; 1702 (ECA Town Council Minutes, Vol. 37, p. 287)

SOMERVILLE, Mrs: her husband, John S. summoned as unfree; she compears and acknowledges 'she has no trade but making some stockings by her own hand for her own and her husband's maintenance'; sells them out of town; 1707

SPENCE, Christian, sp. John Walker, tailor: paid dues; 1703

STARK, Janet: In John Bell's ledger, 1711-16 (SRO GD 241/434).

Poinded; believed to have a considerable trade either separately or in Company with William Crooks; he compears and states that her trade is small and the profits are his; on enquiry, however, she is found to have a considerable trade of her own; to be fined £12; 1713

STEVENSON, Barbara: warned as an unfree trader; 1710

STEWART, Mrs: gave over trade 'for lack of encouragement' and gone into service; her poinded goods returned to her; 1703

STODDART, Janet, in the Luckenbooths, in partnership with Grizel Pillans (q.v.): paid dues; 1703

STRACHAN, Ann: entered; 1724. Out of trade; 1737. But see Appendix 4.

STRACHAN, Mrs: on list of non-entrants; 1698

SUTTIE, Grizel: had died by 1733

SWINTON, Katherine, Mrs: found unfree; 1709

SYM, Rachael: on list of non-entrants; 1698

TAIT, Isobel: poinded goods returned to her; 1703

THOMSON, Barbara: on list of non-entrants; 1698

THOMSON, Widow: owed 4 years' dues; 1688. Paid dues; 1692

TODD, Helen, sp. William Weir, in the Grassmarket: on list of non-entrants; 1698

TODD, Isobel, rel. William T.: paid dues; 1727, 1734

WALKER, Christian: expunged for non-payment of dues; 1727

WALKER, Mary: expunged for non-payment of dues; 1727

WALLACE, Barbara, in the Exchange: found unfree trader; 1721.
In John Bell's ledger, 1721 (SRO GD 241/434)

WATSON, Mrs, in the Netherbow above Duncan's toft in Gooding's
Wynd: found unfree; 1709. Robert Blackwood,
merchant, asked to inform on her extent of trade,
if extensive to be poinded: 1710

WEIR, Janet: poinded; to pay £8 3s 8d dues; if she marries her
husband not to be obliged to enter; 1713

WEIR, Jean, in the Exchange: paid dues; 1703. Charity to Jean
Weir, relict of James Abel; 1739

WEIR, Mrs: poinded as an unfree trader; 1704

WHITE, Margaret: paid dues; 1698. Upset paid; 1698-9

WHITE, Mrs: paid dues; 1701

WILLIAMSON, Janet, sp. (1) Andrew Sheills, writer, brother of
Violet and Barbara Sheills, shopkeepers (2) James
Milroy, merchant; took a customer away from another's
shop saying she could sell the articles cheaper than
in the Exchange; she denied entry to her shop to
the treasurer of the Merchant Company; he got a
warrant to seal the door of her chamber but she had
his seal removed; Alexander Callander had brought
goods from London for her to sell; she compeared,
asked to pay 20s sterling, not to trade until

qualified; 1710. To be roused if she does not pay fine; 1710. By 1710 married to Andrew Sheills whose burgess ticket she produced, her fine to go as his entry; 1712. He paid and was given his wife's poind back; 1712.

WILSON, Mrs, at the entry to the Parliament Close: fails to pay fine after being poinded; 1715

WINTER, Jean, 'a little within the Netherbow': unfree trader in Hollands, muslins, etc., fined; 1704

WRIGHT, Margaret: paid dues; 1693

YOUNG, Carola, dau. Mr Robert Young, minister at Kippen, sp.
(married 1710) Archibald MacAulay, at one time provost of Edinburgh: in partnership with Helen Gilchrist; compears and admits trading; has only one partner, fined 1 guinea, poind returned; 1709. Archibald MacAulay, now married to her, compears before the Company and claims he is a burgess, promises to sign the book the following week; 1710. In John Bell's ledger, 1709-19 (SRO GD 241/434). See also Appendix 4.

YOUNG, Isobel: paid dues; 1714. (?) In John Bell's ledger, 1714-16 (SRO GD 241/434)

YOUNG, Mary, and SHAND, Beatrix: Mary Young claims that her father and grandfather were burgesses; allowed until Whitsunday to enter; 1717

APPENDIX 2
SINGLE WOMEN IN BUSINESS

Note: does not include those listed in Appendix I. Includes only a selection of single women in business whose circumstances are well-documented or particularly significant.

ALLAN, Annie Mantuumaker, sister of John A., episcopal minister. 1781: her brother, writing to the Bishop of Moray, Ross and Caithness says she is going into partnership with 'Miss Pillans' (? her cousin), a niece of Dr Cullen (SRO CH12/24/341)

ALLAN, Helen, Milliner, at the front of the Exchange, 1773-78. 1773, in Williamson's Directory. 20 July 1776: advertisement in Caledonian Mercury; had brought goods from London, allowance for ready money. 1776: account due to her for mournings from widow of Lieut.-Col. Charles Erskine (SRO CC8/4/534)

ANDERSON, Janet, Milliner and graveclothes-maker, 1717-55. Dau. of James Anderson, WS, author of Diplomata Scotiae and Jean Ellis (dau. of E. of Ellisland, Fife). In the records of the Merchant Company said to be 'out of trade in 1737' but may have gone over from millinery and shopkeeping to the making of graveclothes. Accounts due to her are to be found in the family papers of the Clerks of Penicuik (including the graveclothes for Sir John Clerk, d. 1755), the Erskines of Dun and the Earls of Lauderdale among others. 1717: Travelled to London to buy goods for her shop; letters to her father at this time are to be found in the Milton Papers in the National Library of Scotland

- BAIN, Miss kept a Boarding School in St James's Square
(Caledonian Mercury, 24 July 1786)
- BALDERSTONE, Janet, Jean and Margaret: kept a School. 1710: to
be allowed to have a seat in the Tron Kirk (ECA Town
Council Minutes, Vol. 39, p.704)
- BARCLAY, Isobel, Milliner, c.1765-98. 1765: apprenticed to Miss
Pleydell, milliner, whose service she left in 1771
(SRO CC8/4/527). 1771: possibly partner in firm of
Dallas and Barclay. 1780: her shop-front, possibly
house, in the High Street being painted (SRO Account
Book of Deas, house-painter: GD1/548/1)
- BARCLAY, Misses, kept a School, 1783-c.1803. 1783: keeping a
boarding and sewing school (A Law, Education in
Edinburgh, hereafter Law). 1803: 'Miss Barclay' had
a school at 36 George Street (Edinburgh Directory)
- BELL, Margaret, Shopkeeper in Company with her mother, selling
hardware. 1747: sued by a brushmaker for non-payment
for a variety of brushes bought from him (ECA BCP,
Box 114, Bundle 290)
- BLACADDER, Bina, Milliner, 1723-74. Account due to her by Lady
Clerk of Penicuik, 1723 (SRO GD 18/2172/4). 1729:
Account due to her from Mrs Loch (SRO GD 268/72/24).
1771: her servant, Janet Baron, witness in a court
case (SRO CC8/4/525). 1771-74: at head of Todrick's
Wynd (Edinburgh Directory)
- BLYTH, Janet, Mantua-maker, d.1794. Her testament gives the names
of brothers and sisters; one brother a ship's captain
and another Master of a warship. She owned 2 houses
in Potterrow (SRO CC8/8/129/2; 19 March 1794)

BORTHWICK, Jean, Shopkeeper, dau. of John B., goldsmith. 1769: said to have had a tack of her father's shop at the north-west corner of the Luckenbooths of which he had had tacks for 25 and then 19 years; she received a tack for a further 19 years (ECA Town Council Minutes, Vol. 66, p. 107) '... having nothing to live upon but what small profits might arise therefrom..'

BOWIE, Elizabeth and Company, Gold Lace Manufactory, 1775-86.

Probably related to William B., lace weaver, d. 1776, and to Patrick and Archibald B., haberdashers who advertised in Caledonian Mercury 12 March and 4 May 1752 and 6 March 1753. Elizabeth's shop in the Luckenbooths, 1775-80, where the shop-sign was painted on 4 occasions by Deas the house-painter (SRO GD 1/548/1). 8 January 1780: advertised in Caledonian Mercury, then opposite Don's Close in the Luckenbooths. 1780s: Accounts due to them by the Clerks of Penicuik (SRO GD 18/2172). 1786: shop then in Parliament Square (Shop Tax: SRO E326/15/40). 1808: their successors were McLean, Rule and Co. (Caledonian Mercury)

BROTHERSTONE, Nanny, Grocer, 1788. Shop in Stevenlaw's Close was sublet to her by Elizabeth Stewart, changekeeper; her rent was in arrears in that year (ECA BCP Box 180, Bundle 480)

BROWN, Christian, Graveclothes-maker; Dau. Mr Henry B., WS; called 'Gentlewoman'; made graveclothes for Margaret Watson (family of W. of Saughton), 1716 (SRO GD 150/3273); testament of Christian and her sister Agnes, 14 February 1745 (SRO CC8/8/110)

BRYCE, Magdalene and Margaret, White Thread Manufacturers. 1786:
at 146 Nicolson Street (Edinburgh Courant, 23
December 1786)

BUCHAN, Alison and Christian, Shopkeepers, 1758. Daus. of Thomas
B. stabler in Leith. When Christian died Alison gave
details of half the estate (shop goods listed). They
were owed money by other shopkeepers including Grizel
Pillans, Grace Stewart (q.v.) and Jeanie Espline, all
designated 'merchants' (SRO CC8/2/126)

BUCHAN, Marion, Milliner. Sister of George B., WS. Elizabeth
Rutherford, later 'gentlewoman' in Sir David
Cunningham's household at Livingston, had boarded
with Marion all the time she was in business. 1759:
House and shop in Gray's Close (ECA Stent Roll).
Died 23 October 1762, her testament contains an
inventory of house and shop (SRO CC8/8/191/1)

CAMPBELL, Agnes, Shopkeeper, 1709-14. Accounts due to her from
the family of the Earls of Breadalbane, 1709-14
(SRO GD 112/21/209). In Bell's ledger, 1712 (SRO
GD 241/434)

CAMPBELL, Elizabeth, Schoolteacher. 1693: 'doth onlie keep a school
for my livelihood'. (SRS Edinburgh Poll Tax Records)

CAMPBELL, Misses L. and J., kept a Boarding School. 1812-13: school
listed in the Edinburgh Directory)

CAMPBELL, Marjorie, dau. of Col. Campbell of Lundie. 1678:

Licensed to 'keep a public chop or chamber within this burgh and to sell such lawful commodities and merchant wair therein as hir abilitie can reach to without truble or molestatioun and that during the councills pleassour...', 27 November 1678 (Extracts from the Burgh Records of Edinburgh, Vol. 1665-1680, p. 356)

CAMPBELL, Miss and FORSYTH, Miss, Merchants. 1767: supplied goods libelled in the Commissary Court processes (SRO CC8/4/59)

CARSTAIRS, Miss and LYON, Miss, kept a 'School for young ladies', 1767. (Law)

CHEYNE, Jean and Margaret, Graveclothes-makers; sisters of John C., surgeon in Leith, their father also having been a surgeon; bills due to them in 1745, 1749, 1750 and 1759 (CC8/4/456, 466, 473 and 504)

CHRISTIE, Lillias and Company (with Margaret Hepburn, q.v.) Grocer supplying funeral provisions, 1752 (CC8/4/485), 1758 (CC8/4/503); also to Lady Dundas (SRO GD 75/328); supplied plumcake, biscuit, candles and sconces, organised a 'master household' who was responsible for funeral arrangements on the day

CLELAND, Miss Christina, Schoolmistress. 1662: liberty to her to set up a school and to provide herself with teachers (Extracts from the Burgh Records of Edinburgh, Vol. 1655-1665, p.297)

CONGLE, Margaret, Grocer. 1805: sequestered for rent of a shop in the Grassmarket due to Francis McKay (ECA Register of Sequestrations)

CRICHTON, Elizabeth, Milliner, 1799-1812. Advertised in the Edinburgh Advertiser and Courant in 1799 and 1808; sale of goods, had taken 2 apprentices. 1809: account due to her from Lady Clerk of Penicuik, has a letterhead 'Milliner and Dressmaker, South Bridge Street' (SRO GD 18/2180). In Edinburgh Directory for 1812

CUMMING, Janet, Mantua-maker, 1749-53. Accounts due to her from the Lochs of Drylaw, 1749-50 (SRO GD 268/74/14). Court action raised by her against John Foulis, Esq., 1735 (ECA BCP Box 125, Bundle 318)

CUMMING, Mary 'Staymaker' and Mantua-maker, 1751-60. 1751: account for Susan Clerk, grand-daughter of Sir John C. of Penicuik, called staymaker in the account (SRO CC8/2/123). 1760-1: Accounts due to her from the family of the Earls of Melville (SRO GD 26/6/123/31)/

DAVIE, Miss, kept a Sewing School (Law)

DICK, Miss Mary and Company, Shopkeepers. 1748-51: Accounts for haberdashery due to them (SRO GD 34/559a)

DOBSON, Elizabeth, Merchant in Edinburgh, dau. of Roger D, mayor of Hartlepool, and Elizabeth Lindsay. 1687: licensed to keep a shop in the Exchange as long as she remained unmarried (ECA Town Council Minutes, Vol. 32, p. 175). 1690: loaned money to Alexander Livingston of Parkhall (SRO Register of Deeds, RD/DAL 71, fo 173). 1692: took an apprentice, Anna Liddle, dau. John L., minister at Scoonie (SRO RD MACK/66, fo 1054). 1696: she and her sister Sarah and mother granted a bond to

Mr David Forbes, advocate, for loan (SRO RD 2/80/1).

Note: Her sister Sarah was fined by the Merchant Company as an unfree trader in 1688

DOUGLAS, Liliias, Milliner, 1778-87. 1778: her 2 assistant milliners, Ann Cleghorn and Janet Alexander, deponed about a third woman, Jean Noble, who had been employed in her workroom (SRO CC8/4/535). Named in the Inhabited House Tax and Shop Tax, 1778-9 and 1787 respectively, latterly in [South] Bridge Street (SRO Inhabited House and Shop Tax Records)

DRUMMOND, Miss Katherine, kept a Boarding School, 1782 (Law)

DUGUID, Jean, Mantuumaker. 1781: pursuer for a debt in the Commissary Court; a long account included. Deposition by her servant Alice Dickson who had helped to make up the garments (SRO CC8/4/542). 1785: Pursuer in a similar case (Ibid, CC8/2/135)

DUNBAR, Magdalene, Milliner and Dressmaker, 31 North Bridge Street, 1806-15. Went bankrupt in 1815 when her debt stood at £2,698 6s 6d. The bankruptcy papers include an inventory of her house, shop and workroom and a list of her business books (none survive). A male relative was a merchant in London. List of her creditors and debtors. (SRO Court of Session Business Papers: CS 96/3562)

DUNCAN, Christian, Mantuumaker and Milliner. Involved in a case of abduction during which she admitted to receiving 'uncustomed goods'. Sentenced to transportation 1751 (SRO CC8/6/19)

DUNDAS, Janet, Merchant in Edinburgh, in Company with Janet Sheriff, 1756-77. Dau. of Hugh D., shipmaster in Leith. 1756: she and her partner raised an action against Mrs Lisle, sp. Archibald L., householder in Edinburgh, re financial compensation (ECA McLeod papers, Bundle 72). Died 1777, testament (SRO CC8/8/117, 19 April 1777)

DUNOON, Miss, kept a Boarding School. 1799: came from London to open a boarding school (Caledonian Mercury, May 1799)

DYKES, Ann, Shopkeeper and Roomsetter. 1713: Account due to her for millinery goods and for board and lodging (SRO CC8/4/465)

ELPHINSTONE, Euphemia, and Partner, Mantuumakers. 1764: Advertised in Caledonian Mercury (24 December); carry on their business of mantuumaking in their house in the Canongate opposite the church. Garments made without fittings, the newest fashions from London

ENGLISH, Agnes, Milliner, 1752-84. 1752, June 4: advertised in Caledonian Mercury, then in a laigh shop on the north side of the Lawnmarket, opposite Libberton's Wynd. Had been apprenticed to the Misses Young, milliners, for 5 years. She had an apprentice Marion English in 1763 (SRO CC8/2/127). Protests an unpaid bill due to her by Lucy Scott of Scotstarvit in the Commissary Court in 1763 (bill due from 1760) (SRO CC8/4/512). 1773: in Williamson's Directory. 16 January 1784: advertised in the Edinburgh Advertiser to the effect that she was giving up business which was being taken over by her niece, Miss Cadell (sister Margaret married William Caddell potter in Prestonpans), and her partner, Miss Brodie. She died on 4 May 1786 (SRO

CC8/8/127/1); she and her sister buying from a linen merchant in 1767 (SRO GD 113/323)

FENTON, Janet, Shopkeeper, 'unmarried young woman without a house living by the proceeds of a little shop', her stent reduced to £2. c. 1708 (Petitions to the Magistrates, 1685-1708)

FETTES, Margaret, Shopkeeper. 1762: Town Council pays her for stockings for the city guard (ECA Town Council Minutes, 31 March 1762)

FRASER, Elizabeth, Milliner, dau. John F. of Tyrie. 4 June 1752: advertised in the Caledonian Mercury that she was removing from her house in Trunk's Close to Smith's Land, north side of the street. Has brought goods from London, also sells tea. 1752: her partner is Margaret Lawson. 26 December 1760: gets sasine of property in Purves's Close, opposite Fountain Well (SRO B22/2/51). 1763: Account due to her from Lucy Scott of Scotstarvit (SRO CC8/2/127). 1763: has an apprentice, Betty Hall, dau. of a Canongate tailor (ibid)

FRASER, Isobel, Merchant or Shopkeeper, southside of the head of the Canongate. 17 May 1749: her testament; contains list of shop goods. She was daughter of Andrew F., gardener (brother of John F., gardener in Lasswade, SRO CC8/112/2)

GALLOWAY, Elizabeth and Jean, Shopkeepers in partnership. Daus. of William G., skinner. 1747: tack of a shop on the west side of the entry to the Tolbooth. 1769: had held tack sublet from Mrs How: tack renewed but not permitted to rebuild the shop (ECA Town Council Minutes, vol. 66, p. 90)

GED, Anne, Jean and Margaret, Milliners and Graveclothes-makers, 1747-c.80. Possibly the daughters of William Ged, goldsmith; an Episcopalian family. They made graveclothes for, among others, Edinburgh merchants and tradesmen and a North Berwick farmer, 1747-60 (SRO CC8/4/456, 489, 503, 507). They also supplied funeral cake and biscuit (CC8/4/507 has a good account for these). c.1780: Accounts for millinery goods due to them from the family of the Earl of Morton (SRO GD 150/3307)

GIBSON, Isobel, Merchant [grocer]. 1783: she sued Lewis Young, innkeeper, for his bad debts; he had begun buying from her when innkeeper at Carnwath. Her shopkeeper, Janet Sanderson gave evidence in the case (ECA BCP Box 180, Bundle 479)

GIBSON, Miss, kept a School and boarded pupils; 14 October 1758, advertised in the Caledonian Mercury

GLAS, Helen, Mantuumaker. 1727: deponed in a Commissary Court case, had made mournings. Then age 29 (SRO CC8/4/293)

GRAHAM, Ann and Christian, Shopkeepers; to be allowed to furnish their shop; George Cowan, wright, against whom they had petitioned is to be allowed payment for the joisting and flooring, 25 March 1772 (ECA Dean of Guild Sederunt Book, 1770-5)

GRAY, Agnes, Mantuumaker, 1770-79. 1770: account due to her by Lady Graham (SRO GD 22/1/202). 1773: made garments for Lady Betty Anstruther (Household account book in St Andrews University Library, Manuscripts Department). 1778-79 in Parliament Close (SRO Inhabited House and Window Tax records)

GRAY, Jean and Company, Shopkeepers. 1789: protested unpaid bill in Commissary Court; depositions by Margaret Rankine, their shopkeeper, and Jean Bruce, servant (SRO CC8/4/547)

GUILD, Anne, Shopkeeper: c.1760 onwards letters to her from the time she set up shop in Edinburgh from David Valentine, at Otterston, Fife, where Anne had formerly been in service. Details of setting up of shop (SRO Register House Series of Business Papers: RH 15/185)

HALL, Miss, and Company, Milliners, 1763-99. 1763: in the Burgh stent book (ECA). 1773: in Williamson's Edinburgh Directory, then in the Luckenbooths. 1799: her shop in South Bridge Street bought by James Henderson (Caledonian Mercury)

HALL, Helen, Schoolmistress. 25 July 1808, at 1 Baxter's Place, Leith Walk (Caledonian Mercury)

HAMILTON, Euphemia, Milliner, died 5 August 1790. In the action of her creditors depositions were given by her maid-servant, May Saunders and assistant milliner, Mary White (SRO CC8/4/550). Her testament, 2 February 1791 (SRO CC8/8/128/2). Her undated trade card survives in the Hall of Dunlop Muniments (SRO GD 206 Box 49). Her sister Bethia married Charles Donaldson of Broughton Loan

HAY, Grizel, Mantua-maker, 1703-7. Accounts due to her from Hays of Duns (Hay of Duns Muniments: household accounts, Bundle 16: temporary deposit in SRO)

HECTOR, Charlotte and Jean, Mantuumakers, 1770-83. Accounts due to them appear in cases in the Edinburgh Commissary Court records, 1777-89 (SRO CC8/4/545, 548). Depositions by them in a case in 1789 when they are both said to be age 25; Jean stated she had worked with her sister 'many years', and that Charlotte had kept 'regular books'. In an action raised in 1788 against Lady Jean Home it was said that it was 'well known that Lady Jean Home was backward in her payments' (CC8/8/545)

HEPBURN, Margaret (in Company with Liliias Christie (q.v.)); Grocer supplying funeral provisions; bill due, 1755 (CC8/4/510); Dau. John H., minister of Old Greyfriars Church, and Margaret Fenton (Dau. Thomas F., bailie and merchant); Thomas Fenton and his wife, Emelia Christie, dau. James C., chamberlain to the Earl of Moray (Liliias, therefore, probably related), had 3 daus. (1) Margaret (mother of Margaret Hepburn); (2) Emelia, marr. Robert Lindsay, merchant, and (3) Isabel, marr. Paul Husband; all these branches of the family were confectioners, Paul Husband being particularly well-known as a provider of funeral biscuit, etc. All the wives were involved in the businesses, receipting accounts etc. See Emelia Fenton in Chapter 3, above, p. 130

HERON, Miss, Schoolmistress, 1793-4. See A Law, Edinburgh Schools

HOPE, Margaret and Company, Merchants; supplied funeral provisions, 1763 (SRO CC8/4/514); bought sugar from the sugar house in 1750s (SRO GD 113/300)

HUME, Betty, Milliner, d. 1762. Her brother, William Hume, upholsterer, contested her executory with her sister, Rosina H., milliner. She had rented a room from David Low, mason, and his wife in Logie's Close at the foot of Blackfriars' Wynd, of which her own brother, William Hume, upholsterer was the proprietor. Had gone out to Restalrig in her last illness where she died in the house of James Wilson, gardener at Restalrig. The commissary court process on her executory includes bills for sick-nurse and funeral expenses (SRO CC8/4/513). In her recorded testament there is an inventory of her goods and clothes, 24 June 1763 (SRO CC8/8/119/2)

HUTTON, Sibilla, Milliner, 1773-1808. Dau. Rev. William H., Secession minister at Dalkeith. Her portrait and brief biography are in John Kay, Original Portraits where she and Mr Johnston 'two of the stoutest Edinburgh shopkeepers are portrayed together; their shops then being in the Royal Exchange' buildings. At that address, 1773 (Williamson's Directory). She protested an unpaid bill in 1786 (SRO CC8/4/543). In 1786-7 in Advocates Close (Shop and Inhabited House Tax: SRO E326/15/40). Said to have moved to London, but returned to Edinburgh

INGLIS, Marion, Margaret and Agnes, Shopkeepers in the Exchange; Daus. Robert I., goldsmith; Marion appears in Bell's ledger, 1711 (SRO GD 241/434); Margaret mentioned in a testament, 1736 (SRO CC8/8/98)

INNES, Janet and Elizabeth, Grocers, 1786. An account due to them survives in a Commissary Court process (CC8/4/543)

- JOHNSTON, Jacobina, Milliner, 1748-57. Dau. of an Edinburgh merchant. Account due to her from the Countess of Morton, 1748 (SRO GD 150/2453). In Foulis Close, 1749 (Stent Book). Advert. in Caledonian Mercury, 1 August 1751; then at 'back of Fountain Well, 3rd storey of Sheill's land'. In 1757 she and her sister were given sasine of a house and shop at the head of the Fleshmarket Close (SRO CC8/129/1)
- KNOX, Isobel, Milliner, 1787-99 (?1800-13). Dau. of Harry K., merchant, Dunbar. Entered co-partnery with Helen Stark, 1797 (SRO RD 13/139/536). The co-partnery was dissolved, 1799 (SRO CS 29/911/9). House at 18 George Street and shop at 6 South St David Street 1799. May be the 'Miss Knox' who set up for herself at 18 South St Andrew Street, 1800-3; 5 South St Andrew Street, 1804-5; 165 Cowgate, 1812-13 (Edinburgh Directories)
- LAWRIE, Euphemia, Shopkeeper: Dau. Andrew L., maltman in Leith; her testament recorded 12 July 1739, giving good inventory of shop goods (SRO CC8/8/102; also in CC8/4/639/1); received a licence from the Dean of Guild in 1736
- LEARMONTH, Christian, Milliner, c.1745-62. Dau. John L., school-master in Bo'ness, and Christian Livingston (dau. L. of Parkhall, nr. Falkirk). House in Carrubbers Close (Sasine, 1754: SRO RS 27/148). Shop in Lyon Close (ECA Stent Book). Died 1762. She had made her will in 1756 leaving her moveables to Lady Charlotte Gordon (dau. Duke of G.) who had lent her £200 to carry on her business; this being contested by her stepsisters who were also milliners. Her testament contains a long inventory of shop stock and

household goods. During the dispute depositions were made by other milliners, Anne Wardrope and May McCrabie, who had known her for many years (SRO CC8/8/119/1; CC8/4/512; CC8/2/125)

LINDSAY, Ann, Mantumaker, 1747-58. In 1747 she was sued for non-payment of her rent of a house in Byres Close (ECA BCP Box 115, Bundle 293). In 1758 deposed during a Commissary Court case; then age 30. Her apprentice, Isobel Wardie, age 15, also a witness (SRO CC8/4/503)

McCRABIE, Margaret and May, Milliners, 1730-63. May have been related to Reuben M., wigmaker. Their brother Alexander M. was a merchant in London. Account due to them from Halls of Dunglas in 1730 (SRO GD 206/Portfolio 1/3/C). Same year, a correspondent of the Countess of Roxburgh suggests asking Miss McCrabie to bring lutestring hoods from London (Roxburgh Muniments: temporary deposit in SRO TD 88/45/751). Seatholders in the Tron Kirk, 1745. They boarded Susan Clerk, dau. of Hugh C., merchant (S. of Sir John C. of Penicuik, 1749-51 (SRO CC8/2/123). In 1762 May M. gave evidence in dispute about Christian Learmonth's executory (see above). Same year, Julian Muir, milliner, is described as their 'doctrix' and, as factor for her brother Alexander, May receives rent of his property in Stevenlaws Close (SRO CC8/4/512)

McKEAN, Mary, Trunkseller, 1784. She was sued for rent of a house at head of Geddes' Close; inventory of furnishings and goods (ECA Register of Sequestrations)

McKENZIE, Sarah, Milliner, sister Margaret M., Shopkeeper; brother was Henry McKenzie, of the East India Company, Calcutta, whose executors they were 29 January 1768 (SRO CC8/8/121/1); Sarah was put in the Canongate prison on 16 February 1781 at instance of John Watson WS., for non-payment of £10 sterling, became ill and was liberated by the magistrates on finding caution to return 'when better in her health'; on 13 June 1781 again incarcerated at instance of John Rose, grocer, for non-payment of 25s; an 'Ann' M. was liberated by cessio bonorum, probably this was Sarah

McLEAN and RULE, Successors to Elizabeth Bowie and Company, Lace Manufactory. Advert in Caledonian Mercury, 15 January 1808.

McLEOD, Ann, Margaret and Katherine, Milliners, 1804-7. Shop in Princes Street and house in Leith Terrace. Became bankrupt in 1807; court productions include Day Book (inscribed at front 'Miss Mcleod is very good to naughty girls') and Margaret's trade card for 'Fashionable corsets'. They owed money to various London merchants including Garfield and Pugh, one of whose letters is also among the court papers. They were buying straw for making hats, also buying corsets for which a bill survives. (SRO CS 96/3824-5; CS 228/M/10/21)

McPHERSON, Miss, Schoolmistress and took boarders, 1785-1805. Advertised in The Edinburgh Courant, August 1785 and 30 July 1795; In the Edinburgh Directory, 1786, 1788; In 1800 at 2 George Street in 1805 in North Frederick Street. In a letter to Gordon of Cluny she mentions advertising for girls from India and is expecting someone from England to help her (GD 80/927/1-4)

MAITLAND, Misses, Milliners, 1796-99. Account due to them from Loch family, 1796 (SRO CC8/8/130/1, 21 Jan. 1796). Lady Betty Anstruther (dau. 6th Earl of Lauderdale) had bonnet made by them, 1797 (Her household account book in St Andrews University Library). Advertised in Caledonian Mercury, 6 July 1799 their sale of millinery goods by public roup, at Miss Maitland's house next the Cowgate Arch, South Bridge Street. At 39 South Bridge, in 1799 (Edinburgh Directory)

MATHIE, Jean (Jennie), and NEILSON, ---, Milliners, 1754-8. Advert. in Caledonian Mercury 19 November 1754; had brought new goods from London and also boards young girls. Sued for payment of bills for mournings, 1758; deponents include Betty Kennedy their shopkeeper, and Margaret Goven, their apprentice (SRO CC8/4/503)

MIDDLETON, Margaret and Company, 'Flannel or Graveclothes-makers' in Edinburgh; made graveclothes for Mr Lauchlan Grant, W.S. in 1775; her partner was Miss Innes (SRO CC8/4/532)

MILLAR, Elizabeth and Margaret, Milliners, 1776-86. Advert in Caledonian Mercury; one of the partners had been in London for some time. Sued for an unpaid bill; deponents included Euphemia Smeaton, their assistant, and Mary Gilchrist, their journeywoman (SRO CC8/4/535). Account due to them, 1780 (SRO CC8/4/541). Bill due to them by Christian Henderson, dau. Magnus H., clerk in the Exchequer, 28 September, 1785 (CC8/2/135)

- MITCHELL, Christian, Silkwasher, 1757. Dau. of William M., wright.
She maintained her mother through her employment of
'silk washing' (SRO Edinburgh Burgh Register of Deeds,
Warrants, 22 July 1757)
- MONCRIEFF, Elizabeth, Teacher of Embroidery, 1729 (CC8/4/639/1);
'to Mrs Moncreiff for embroidery' of a waistcoat, in
a testament of 25 January 1729 (CC8/4/639/1)
- MONTGOMERIE, Jean, Shopkeeper, 1692. Petitions the Town Council;
has been 'at schools' at home and abroad learning
Japanning, etc. Licensed to 'exercise her art' for 2
years (ECA Town Council Minutes, Volume 34, p.15)
- MORE, Margaret, Shopkeeper, 1769. Possessor of a small shop in
West Port, property of the city. It has been
advertised for sale but she asks for a tack. Granted
for 19 years for £1 6s 8d (ECA Town Council Minutes,
Volume 66, p. 103)
- MOWBRAY, Mary and Company, Milliners, 1786-96. A long account due
to them, in a Commissary Court process, 1786 (SRO CC8/
4/543). Another, 1796 (SRO CC8/2/135)
- MUNRO, Anne and Jean, Milliners, 1747. They and Gilbert Laurie,
surgeon, complain about the erection of 'stoups'
across their stairs outside their shop. Workmen
were ordered to take these down. (ECA Dean of Guild
Minute Book, 19 August 1747)
- MURRAY, Cicely, Milliner. Dau. George Murray (bro. of M. of
Polmaise), apothecary, Edinburgh, and Christian
Veitch (dau. of V. of Darnick). Apprenticed to a
Stirling merchant. Was in partnership with Janet
Mushet (q.v.), milliner, in the Luckenbooths, 1750s.

Later married Hercules Lindsay, Faculty of Law,
Glasgow University

- MUSHET, Janet and Amelia, Shopkeepers and Milliners. Daus. Walter M., merchant in the Luckenbooths. In 1747 they sued Margaret Leslie, milliner, for non-payment, the bill for goods being enclosed in the process (ECA BCP Box 114, Bundle 289). In 1758 Janet given liferent of several subjects including shop belonging to their late father (SRO Edinburgh Sasines: B22/2/56, fos 98-103). Took Cicely Murray and Ann Buchanan Cicely's cousin into partnership (q.v.). Later married Dr Adam Murray (bro. laird of Polmaise), died year later, 1761
- MUTTER, Eleanora, Milliner, 1747-50. Accused her servant, Helen Trotter, of stealing fabric and keeping the change (ECA BCP Box 115, Bundle 291). She owed money to Robert Baillie, merchant, 1750 (SRO Register of Deeds: RD 2/168)
- NEWTON, Agnes and MORRISON, Mary, Milliners in partnership, 1779-87. Accounts due to them, in court process, 1779 (SRO CC8/2/136). Sued Ninian Love, vintner, for rent of a house leased to him in the Fleshmarket Close, 25 March 1780 (ECA Register of Sequestrations). In Anchor Close 1786-7 (SRO Shop Tax records). Accounts due to them in court process, 1787
- OGG, Miss Hamilton, Mantumaker. Dau. John Ogg, stabler. She was a witness in a court case, 1798-9 (SRO CC8/4/559)
- ORROCK, Elizabeth, Milliner, 1779-80. May have been related to Walter O., merchant. Witness in court case, having made mournings, 1779 (for Mr Sheniman, musician)

(SRO CC8/4/536). Account due to her, in court process, 1780 (SRO CC8/4/536)

PATULLO and FLETCHER, Mantuamakers. Undated trade card gives address as Smith's Land, Bailie Fyfe's Close. (Hay of Duns Muniments. Temporary deposit in SRO: see NRA(S) Survey 2720, Household Accounts, Bundle 12)

PITTULLO, Margaret and Jean, Milliners, 1773-96. May at one time have been a wider partnership of Pitullo and Blair, 1773; in their testament there is a connection with a John Blair of Adamton, 21 June 1796 (CC8/8/130/1). (?) Daus. of John P. of Kinnochtrie. At 'the Cross' as Pitullo and Blair, 1773 (Edinburtgh Directory). Misses P. and B. in Skinner's Close, 1780-1 (SRO Inhabited House Tax records). In Mylnes Square in 1786-7 (ibid). They made a will in which they referred to losses sustained through insolvent debtors, 21 June 1796 (SRO CC8/8/130/1)

PEAT, A--, Mantuamaker. In 1799 had just come from London where she had been mantuamaking (Caledonian Mercury, 11 July 1799). At 28 Greenside Street, 1820 (Edinburgh Directory)

PENMAN, Grizel and STEWART, Grace, Milliners in partnership, 1757-87. Grace, dau. Charles S., merchant. She was a witness in a court case, stating that she had made the millinery goods in question, 1757 (SRO CC8/4/502). Account due to them by Bailie Charles Hope, 1758 (SRO CC8/2/126). They are called 'merchants' in the testament of Christian Buchan, 1758 (SRO CC8/2/126). Given sasine of property in Liberton's Wynd, 1759 (SRO B22/2/72). Grace Stewart's testament, December 1787 (SRO CC8/8/25)

PILLANS, Mary and Edgar, Milliners, in partnership, 1776-88.

Petitioned magistrates for damages for loss of business due to lowering of the street, 1785-6 (probably during the South Bridge work), which obstructed their shop at the head of Dickson's Close. Complained in 1788 about delay in completion of the work and payment of damages. To prove it was the works that damaged their trade they produced their business books to show their annual profits, viz. 1777-8, £31 10s 5d; 1778-9, £83 10s. 3½d; 1779-80, £46 6s 11½d; 1780-1, £26 0s 3d; 1781-2, £42 9s 0½d; 1782-3, £42 9s 9½d; 1783-4, no profits 'due to all the bad debts having been struck off this year'; 1784-5, £43 4s 2d; Lost 1785-6 'owing to the want of access - £87 18s 8d (ECA Moses Bundles 168, no. 6567). In Dickson's Close 1776-86 (SRO Inhabited House Tax records). . In 1787, 'Miss Pillans' at 'St John's Cross'

PRESTON, Misses, Schoolmistresses. Daus. Mr George P., late minister at Markinch. Advert. in Edinburgh Courant, 5 March 1783

RAMSAY, Ann, Christian, Jean, Katherine and Mary, Milliners. Daus. Gilbert R., factor to the Duke of Roxburgh, and Katherine Kerr (dau. K. of Kippielaw). Christian later married James Ramsay, slater and builder, Edinburgh; Jean later married Daniel Seton, merchant; Mary may have been a partner in Ramsay and Cramond. Katherine and Ann remained unmarried. Built house at Restalrig (then named 'Viewfrith', now known as Marionville) in 1783 on their retirement; later moved to Antigua Street where Katherine died in 1808 (CC8/8/138; 29 March 1810) and Ann in 1804. Attended Episcopal church. Reminiscences of them in Chambers Traditions of Edinburgh. Katherine Ramsay and

Sisters, or Katherine and Ann Ramsay: House and shop in Lyon Close, 1750-9 (ECA Stent Book). Accounts due to them survive in family papers; Clerk of Penicuik, 1771 (SRO GD 18/2180); Hamilton Bruce, 1755 (SRO GD 34/559a); Hall of Dunglas, 1759-60 (SRO GD 206/Portfolio 2/1); Leven and Melville, 1765 (SRO GD 26/6/123/32); Murray of Lintrose (SRO GD 68/2/68); Cheape of Rossie, 1756 (St Andrews University Library: 7/274); and in Commissary Court cases, e.g. (SRO CC8/4/519 (1767), 512 (c.1763); Letter to Katherine and Ann from Andrew Edmonston of Ednam, ordering mournings, 1760 (SRO CC8/4/509) in one of her depositions Katherine said she had made the items herself; Damage to property belonging to them in Todrick's Wynd, 1799 (ECA Dean of Guild Processes); Their servants and assistants gave evidence in court cases: Isobel Halkerston, served 1750-8 (SRO CC8/4/503); Isobel Colvin, served c. 1757-67 (SRO CC8/2/128); Katherine Alexander, served c.1762-67 (SRO CC8/2/127); Isobel Burnet, c.1763 (SRO CC8/4/512); buying from a Linen Merchant in 1767 (SRO GD 113/323)

READ, E. and Sisters Dressmakers. In 1808 in South Bridge Street when they advertised in the Caledonian Mercury, 11 June: to be a raffle of dresses with 30 prizes. They also took boarders, day scholars and apprentices

REID, Katherine, Milliner; apprenticed to Janet Gray (dau. Samuel G. procurator) in 1720 (ECA Moses Bundle 156, no. 5981); set up for herself and took as apprentice Elizabeth Brodie in 1728 (Moses Bundle 159, no. 6073); in 1756 was taken to the Burgh court by Eleanora Robertson, milliner, for an unpaid bill

RITCHIE, Helen and Company, Milliners, 1773-89. In 1773 at 'the front of the Exchange' (Edinburgh Directory). In 1779 her shop was decorated inside and outside by Deas, housepainter (SRO GD 1/548/1). In Warriston's Close in 1780 (SRO Inhabited House Tax records). In the Grassmarket in 1786-7 (SRO Shop Tax records)

ROBERTS, Ann, Milliner and hoopmaker, at 'the Sign of the Hoop'; advertised in Caledonian Mercury 1 June 1776 to the effect that she had moved shop but continued to make 'all sorts of hoops after the neatest and newest London patterns', 'proper allowance will be made to any milliner, mantuamaker or haberdasher who takes a quantity', 'N.B. Commissions taken in by Miss Telfer and Anderson milliners in New Street Glasgow and Mrs Scott mantuamaker in Dundee'.

ROSS, Grizel, Grocer, 1752. On north side of the Cowgate near the mealmarket. Died in 1752. Her house was owned by Robert Ramsay, merchant and mealmaker. Her testament contains an inventory of the house and shop goods. (SRO CC8/4/482)

ROSSIGNOLI, Miss, Dancing Teacher. Advertised in the Edinburgh Courant, 31 October 1785. Then in Advocates Close.

SAMSON, Jacobina ('Binny'), Mantuamaker, 1791. In Leith; deponed in a court case that she had made the garments in question (SRO CC8/4/552)

SANDILANDS, Christian, Shopkeeper, 1747-69. Dau. John S., wright. Shop in the Krames. Asks for tack of a shop to support her; granted for 19 years (1747). In 1769 asked for a further tack of 19 years (ECA Town Council Minutes, Vol. 66, p.92; SRO B22/10/11, p.90)

SCHETKY, Miss, Teacher of drawing and painting. Dau. of Johann S., musician. Exhibited her work in Sibbald's circulating library. (Edinburgh Courant, 12 Nov. 1785)

SCOTT, Margaret, Shopkeeper. 1763. Dau. James S. WS. Petitioned the Commissary Court after her father died in debt, she claiming his goods. She stated that the debts had been incurred by her brother, James S., WS., she having taken a shop to support her parents. She had saved her father from prison 'by borrowing on her own credit pretty large sums', her father having spent all his substance paying her brother's debts. She herself was in London when her father took ill but came home 'in time'. Allowed the moveables which were hers. (SRO CC8/4/514)

SELKIRK, Elizabeth, Milliner, 1759-73. Accounts due to her by Lieut. Donald Cameron, 1759 (SRO GD 202/45/15-17). In the burgh stent book, 1763. In the Lawnmarket, 1773 (Edinburgh Directory)

SHEILL, Agnes, Graveclothes-maker; Dau. Thomas S., WS. and Elizabeth Wightman (eld. dau. William W., skinner); she was related to the 'Swedish Miss Wightmans' (q.v.), probably cousin; made graveclothes for Robert Wightman; bills for 1758 (CC8/4/503), 1768 (CC8/4/520) and 1772 (ECA BCP Box 148 Bundle 384)

SHEPHERD, Katherine and Grizel, Shopkeepers. 1710, licensed to trade in the city for 5 years. (ECA Town Council Minutes, Vol. 39, p.893)

SINCLAIR, Euphemia, Milliner, 1736-53. Advertised in the Caledonian Mercury on 2 July 1752 stating that she intended to give up business but continued to board young ladies. She sold asses' milk (SRO CC8/4/480). In Swinton's Land, next Morrison's Land, in 1753 (SRO Window Tax records)

SOMERVILLE, Ann, Tobacconist. Advertised in the Caledonian Mercury, 9 July 1752; tobacco and snuff sold at her shop above the Fleshmarket Closehead, at the sign of the Red Tobacco and Snuff Shop

STORIE, Elizabeth and Mary, Milliners in partnership, 1773-83. In the Luckenbooths in 1773 (Edinburgh Directory) and 1778 (SRO Inhabited House Tax records). Disposed some property in 1783 (SRO Sasine Register, RS 27/275, fo. 86)

TINDALL, Agnes, Shopkeeper. Raised an action for debt against Elizabeth Drummond, widow of Henry Creich, tailor, 1745 (ECA BCP Box 113, Bundle 287)

VEITCH, Helen ('Nelly'), Mantua-maker, 1748-54. Accounts due to her from Lady Hay and family (SRO GD 34/559a)

VEITCH, Katherine, Shopkeeper in the Luckenbooths. Her goods roused to pay her debts as a bankrupt, including rent of her shop. Papers include a list of goods, 1788 (ECA BCP, Box 180, Bundle 478)

WADDELL, Katherine, Mantua-maker, 1771-82. She deposed in 1771 (then age c.20) that she had made mournings in question for Lady Hay of Lees (SRO CC8/4/524). Also deposed in a case of 1778 (SRO CC8/4/535). Account due to her from Countess of Morton, 1779 (SRO GD 150/3307). Letter to

her from Mrs Hay of Duns about the payment of an account, 1782 (SRO NRA(S) Survey, 827)

WADDELL, Miss, Milliner. In Murdoch's Close, 1773 (Directory); the Royal Exchange in 1780-88 (SRO Inhabited House Tax records); in Mary King's Close, 1786-7 (SRO Shop Tax records)

WARDROPE, Anne, Milliner; Dau. William W., surgeon; apprenticed to Christian Learmonth (q.v.) when age 11; had put money into latter's business and had her own customers; signed her deposition giving this information, 1763 (SRO CC8/4/512); lived on after 1800 (testament, SRO SC70/1/16, p.508)

WATSON, Elizabeth, Shopkeeper and Roomsetter. In Bell's Wynd in 1721, when she appears in John Bell's ledger (SRO GD 241/434). In 1735 she sued for debts against executors of Archibald Campbell of Skirvane; papers include her accounts and the depositions by her servants, Janet Christie and Grizel Lindsay; she herself then said to be 'age 30 and upwards' (SRO CC8/4/396)

WHITE, Anne, Mantumaker, 1714-18. Accounts due to her from Lady Panmure (SRO Dalhousie Muniments, GD 45/18/1014)

WIGHTMAN, Williamina and Angel, Schoolmistresses, 1748-52. Daus. of a Stockholm merchant and consequently referred to themselves as 'the Swedish Miss Wightmans'. Advertised in the Caledonian Mercury, 7 May 1751, offering to take in 6 girls of honest parents who were unable to pay, provided they gave their work as part payment of fees; all kinds of sewing. Another advert in same, 1 June 1752: the students who learn

accounts are 'to take charge of the family week about'

WILSON, Janet, Bethia and Katherine, Milliners in Company, 1747-53. Daus. George W. of Sands, bailie of Culross, and Marion Henderson. In 1747 Janet deponed in a court case about having made the articles in question (SRO CC8/4/459). In 1748 they owed money to Thomas Young, merchant (SRO CC8/4/464). Account due to them by John Douglas, armourer, and his wife, 1750 (ECA BCP Box 125, Bundle 317). In Marlin's Wynd in 1753 when they gave lodgings to George Drummond of Blair Drummond (SRO Abercairnrie Muniments, GD 24/5/4/140)

APPENDIX 3

THE TEXTILE AND GROCERY TRADES: APPRENTICES, JOURNEYWOMEN,
ASSISTANTS, SHOPKEEPERS AND SERVANTS

AIRD, Annabella: Servant to Charles Gray, merchant; goods pointed from her, 1713 (Merchant Company Minutes, 1704-14)

AITKEN, Magdalene: Journeywoman to Jean Hutchison and Son, haberdashers; age 22; unmarried; had served as journeywoman for 4 years prior to deposition; had measured out fabric in home of customer; signed deposition, 1770 (Edinburgh Commissary Court, CC8/4/523)

ALEXANDER, Janet: Servant to Miss Douglas, milliner; signed deposition, 1778 (Ibid., CC8/4/535)

ALEXANDER, Katherine: Servant to Katherine and Anne Ramsay, milliners (see Appendix 2); age 18; unmarried; had served for 5 years; signed deposition, 1767 (Ibid., CC8/2/127)

ALLAN, Margaret: Shopkeeper to Mrs MacKenzie, draper, in the Luckenbooths; age 19; unmarried; previously shopkeeper to the Misses Yair (? milliners and mantua-makers) for 5 years; had delivered millinery goods to customer; signed deposition, 1776 (Ibid., CC8/4/532)

ANDERSON, Christian: Shopkeeper to Jean and Betty Ritchie, milliners; unmarried; had previously served Jean Hutchison and Son, haberdashers, for 12 years; signed deposition, 1789 (Ibid., CC8/4/548)

- ANDERSON, Sophia: Apprentice to Grizel Penman and Grace Stewart, milliners (also called merchants), 1758, 1767 (Ibid., CC8/2/128, 136)
- BARCLAY, Isobel: Apprentice to Mrs Pleydell, milliner; age 20; unmarried; had served as apprentice and journeywoman 5 years prior to Whit. 1771 when she left her service; had carried millinery articles to the home of Lord Reay (Ibid., CC8/4/527)
- BARON, Janet: Servant to Mrs Blacadder, milliner, 1771 (Ibid., CC8/4/525)
- BEATON, Jean: Servant to Margaret Maxwell, graveclothes-maker, 1759 (Ibid., CC8/2/128)
- BLANE, Betty: Journeywoman to Mrs Janet Paterson, mantuamaker; age 16; unmarried; signed deposition, 1767 (Ibid., CC8/2/128)
- BOOG, Isobel: Servant or apprentice to John Shaw, upholsterer; age 18; unmarried; signed deposition, 1743 (Ibid., CC8/8/128)
- BOOG, Janet: Shop servant to Isobel Kerr, mantuamaker; dau. late Robert B., corkcutter in Leith; age 18; unmarried; had served for 3 years; signed deposition, 1776 (Ibid., CC8/4/536)
- BOON, Mary: Servant and shopkeeper to Moses MacIntyre and mother, grocers, and later to Moses himself; age 25; unmarried; had received goods from other shopkeepers; could not write; deposition, 1794 (Ibid., CC8/4/555)

- BRODIE, Elizabeth: dau. Captain B., in Earl of Tullibardine's Regiment; bound apprentice for 3 years to Katherine Reid, shopkeeper, 'in her trade of merchandising and shopkeeping', 1728; signed her indenture; original Indenture of apprenticeship survives (ECA Moses Bundle 159, No. 6073)
- BROWN, Anna: Apprentice to Mary Littlejohn, wife of Michael Bailie, shopkeeper in the Exchange; 'under 16 years' (Edinburgh Poll Tax, 1694)
- BRUCE, Jean: Servant to Jean Gray and Co., drapers; age 16; unmarried; had worked for Miss Gray for 3 years; although mainly in the house she was 'coming and going about the shop'; signed deposition, 1789 (Edinburgh Commissary Court, CC8/4/547)
- BRUNTON, Margaret: Shopkeeper to Jean and Betty Ritchie, milliners; age 18; had served for about 6 years; signed deposition, 1777 (Ibid., CC8/4/548)
- BRYDEN, Christian: Apprentice to William Gellately, merchant; age 16; unmarried; had helped to make up goods and had seen 'Mistress Gellately (William's dau.) and servants take them to customers; signed deposition, 1748 (Ibid., CC8/4/465)
- CAMPBELL, Helen: had been Servant to an un-named midwife and petitioned for financial help to come to Edinburgh to be apprenticed and learn the profession of midwife, having obtained from Dr Young a certificate of her fitness to be taught by him; dau. of James C., late ground-officer of the Strowan estate; 1767 (Records of the Forfeited Estates Commissioners (SRO) E783/69/4/1)

- CAMPBELL, Helen: dau. Robert C. of Borland; Apprenticed to Margaret Pollock, W. John Duncan, W.S.; bound apprentice for 4 years to learn Margaret Pollock's 'art and employment of all coloured seam and white seam working, imbroidering satin seam, washing and dressing fine linneings, wax work, gum flowers, philigrams and others in use to be done by the said Margaret Pollock'; signed her indenture; original Indenture of Apprenticeship survives, 5 January 1714 (Breadalbane Muniments (SRO): GD 112/64/18/1-5)
- CAMPBELL, Isobel: Nat. dau. Colin C. of Glenure ('the Red Fox'); Apprenticed to Jean Christie, mantuamaker in Stirling, in 1765; bound for 3 years to learn Mrs Christie's 'Business and Employment as a mantuamaker'; she was to be allowed 1 hour off each day 'for attending any schools in the town of Stirling as she shall be advised for her improvement in counting or otherwise'; signed her Indenture; original Indenture of Apprenticeship survives (Campbell of Breadalbane Muniments (SRO): GD 170/391/8)
- CAMPBELL, Liliias: Apprentice to Agnes Broadfoot; poind taken from her, 1713 (Merchant Company Minutes, 1704-14)
- CHRISTIE, Janet: Servant to Elizabeth Watson, shopkeeper and roomsetter; age 20; unmarried; furnished the articles concerned and agreed the prices charged were reasonable; signed deposition, 1735 (Edinburgh Commissary Court: CC8/4/396)
- CHRISTIE, Margaret: Shopkeeper to Mrs MacAulay (Carola Young, see Appendices 1 and 4), milliner; age 20; unmarried; assisted in making millinery goods; signed deposition, 1748 (Ibid, CC8/4/456)

CLEGHORN, Anne; Servant to Miss Douglas, milliner; witnessed to another woman's employment in the workshop; signed deposition, 1779 (Ibid., CC8/4/535)

COLSTON, Marion: Apprentice to the Misses Gilbert, shopkeepers and milliners; had visited customer for directions as to the making of the garments in question; signed deposition, 1791 (ibid., CC8/4/552)

COLVIN, Isobel: Servant to Katherine and Anne Ramsay, milliners (see Appendix 2); age 20; unmarried; helped to make up some of the items in question; signed deposition, 1767 (ibid., CC8/2/128)

COWAN, Margaret: Servant and shopkeeper to her father, George C., wright, and her mother, Margaret Grant who furnished the goods in question; signed deposition, 1748 (Ibid., CC8/4/469)

CRAIG, Anna: Apprenticed to Mrs Mary Adie, washerwoman who later married Alexander Campbell of Anachan; when accused of having deserted her service she complained that contrary to the terms of her indenture she had been made to do domestic work instead of only washing and dressing; one of the debts owing to Mary Adie when she died was for 'washing and otherways'; Anna signed her deposition, 1718 (ECA BCP Box 48, Bundle 128); Mary Adie's testament, 17 July 1739 (Edinburgh Commissary Court, CC8/8/102)

CRAIGHEAD, Mary: Servant to Robert Still, merchant; had served for 4 years; signed deposition, 1789 (Ibid., CC8/4/547)

CUMMING, Elizabeth: Apprentice to Alexander Sheill, skinner;
probably the apprentice of his un-named wife
(Edinburgh Poll Tax, 1694)

CUMMING, Helen: late Apprentice to M. and J. Allison, mantuamakers,
now to Miss Lawson and Miss MacDonald; had been
apprenticed for 4½ years; aged 17; unmarried; signed
deposition, 1768 (Edinburgh Commissary Court: CC8/4/
521)

CUMMING, Henrietta: Assistant to Barbara Cowan, graveclothes-
maker (see Appendix 4), her aunt; dau. Katherine
Cowan and James Cumming, writing-master, and sister
of James Cumming, herald-painter; had helped to make
the graveclothes in question and had seen them put
on; signed deposition, 1751 (Ibid., CC8/4/479). For
more biographical details see, Margaret Swain,
Scottish Embroidery (1986), pp. 89, 93.

CUMMING, Margaret: had been Apprenticed to her brother James C.
for shopkeeping; paid dues after she had become a
shopkeeper herself, 1712 (Merchant Company Minutes,
1704-14)

DICKSON, Alice: Servant to Mr Hutchison, druggist; later servant
to Jean Duguid, mantuamaker; made gowns; signed
deposition, 1784 (Edinburgh Commissary Court,
CC8/4/542)

DUNCAN, Elizabeth: Servant to Archibald Napier, druggist; dau.
George D., shoemaker; age 23; unmarried; had served
for 6 years; assisted in selling drugs in the shop;
signed deposition, 1774; later Servant to Archibald's

sister, Mary Napier, mantuamaker; helped to make up garments; signed deposition, 1779 (Ibid., CC8/4/536). Later married Archibald Napier; see Napier, Mary, below.

EASTON, Janet and Elspeth: Apprenticed to Marion Campbell, wife of Robert Neilson, merchant, for lacemaking and pearl-weaving, Janet for 3 and Elspeth for 4 years; daus. John E., maltman; original Indenture of Apprenticeship survives, 1638 (ECA Moses Bundle 25, No. 1033)

ENGLISH, Marion: late Apprentice to Agnes English, milliner, 1763 (Edinburgh Commissary Court, CC8/2/127)

FINLAY, Helen: Apprentice to Helen Allan, milliner; age 16; unmarried; had been apprentice for 4 years and had helped Miss A. to make the millinery goods in question; signed deposition, 1776 (Ibid., CC8/4/534)

FERRIES, Jean: Apprentice to Katherine Gray, wife of James Tait, merchant (Edinburgh Poll Tax, 1694)

FRANCIS, Grizel: Apprentice to William Cumming, merchant; in 1715 by which time she was a shopkeeper, it was stated that, although she had been apprenticed to Cumming, her father was not a burgess; she was then fined 20s for unfree trading (Merchant Company Minutes, 1715-24)

FULTON, Elizabeth: Servant 'who attends the shop' for James Weir, baxter, Leith; furnished the bread, etc. to customers and kept the nick sticks, knew the prices, could not write, 1797 (Edinburgh Commissary Court, CC8/4/558)

- GALLOWAY, Anne: Assistant to Jean Simpson, graveclothes-maker; age 19; unmarried; dau. late James G., residenter in Portsburgh; knew prices of the different articles and helped to make them up and put them on; signed deposition, 1757 (Ibid, CC8/4/502)
- GED, Ann: Apprenticed to Ann Brown for buttonmaking; dau. James G., merchant in Burntisland: original Indenture of Apprenticeship survives, 1702 (Register House Series: RH9/17/319)
- GELLATELY, Jean: Shopkeeper to her father, William G., merchant; age 16; not married; made up millinery articles concerned in the case; signed deposition, 1748 (Edinburgh Commissary Court, CC8/4/465). Later married James Cleghorn, brewer, who became burgess in her right.
- GILCHRIST, Jean: Apprentice to Mary Murdoch, milliner; age 15; unmarried; signed deposition, 1771 (Ibid., CC8/6/29)
- GILCHRIST, Mary: Journeywoman to E. and M. Miller, milliners; age 'about 15 years'; signed deposition, 1778 (Ibid., CC8/4/535)
- GORDON, Jean: Apprentice to William Cumming, merchant; goods poided from her in 1712 (Merchant Company Minutes, 1704-14)
- GORDON, Margaret: Servant to George Wright, tailor; mantuamaker; age 18; assisted in making up garments; signed deposition, 1758 (ibid., CC8/4/503)
- GOVEN, Margaret: Apprentice to Mathie and Neilson, milliners; age 16; unmarried; helped to make up goods; signed deposition, 1758 (Ibid., CC8/4/503)

GRAHAM, Katherine: Apprenticed to Rachael Strachan, milliner and shopkeeper; bound for 3 years 'in her art of millinery and Business of Merchandising', 1765; signed her indenture; original Indenture of Apprenticeship survives (Court of Session Records, CS 230/B8/529)

GRANT, Isobel: Apprenticed to Elizabeth Grant, merchant and shopkeeper, for 3 years; original Indenture of Apprenticeship survives, 1752 (SRO NRA(S) Survey, 885, Earls of Strathmore, Box 148, Bundle 3)

GRAY, Agnes: Servant to Christian and Margaret Stirling, grocers; age 30; unmarried; served 1774-76; marked items sold in the waste book, etc.; signed deposition, 1776 (Edinburgh Commissary Court, CC8/4/532)

HALKERSTON, Isobel: Servant to Katherine and Anne Ramsay, milliners (see Appendix 2); age 15 and upwards; unmarried; had served for 8 years; made part of the millinery articles and delivered them to customers and saw them regularly stated in the business books; signed deposition, 1758 (Ibid., CC8/4/503); further deposition in 1763 when she said she kept the shop (Ibid., CC8/2/127)

HALL, Betty: Apprentice to Elizabeth Fraser; age 17; unmarried; made articles concerned; signed deposition, 1763 (ibid., CC8/2/127)

HAY, Rachael: Servant to Grizel Ross, grocer, widow of John Lyon, travelling chapman, 1752 (ibid., CC8/4/482)

HUNTER, Helen: Apprentice to William Beveridge, merchant (? dyer); age 17; unmarried; signed deposition, 1751 (Ibid., CC8/4/477)

HUNTER, Isobel: Apprenticed to Barbara Henderson, wife of John Glen, goldsmith in the Canongate, for 'embroidery of all sorts, white seam, lace and stocking working, Japanning, figuring, drawing of draughts and to learn her to write'; bound for 5 years, plus 1 year for her board, meat and washing; Original indenture survives, Barbara Henderson signed the indenture but not Isobel, 1695 (Reigster House Series, RH9/17/274)

JOHNSTON, Mary: Servant to Ebenezer Robertson, printer; age 25; unmarried; previously (1750-1) servant to Gavin Waugh, baxter; had delivered bread when no male servants were available and marked it on the nick sticks; signed deposition 1759 (Edinburgh Commissary Court, CC8/4/504)

KENNEDY, Betty: Shopkeeper to Mrs Mathie and Mrs Neilson, drapers; signed deposition, 1758 (Ibid., CC8/4/503)

KENNEDY, Marion: sister of Sir Thomas K. of Kirkhill; Apprentice to Elizabeth Cruikshank, wife of Robert Grant, W.S. (Edinburgh Poll Tax, 1694)

KIRKLAND, Katherine: Shopkeeper to her father, James K., grocer; age 16, unmarried; signed deposition, 1749 (Ibid., CC8/4/469)

LAWSON, Janet: Apprenticed to Mary Durie and her husband, John Cruikshanks, 'indweller', for 'perlins, mens bands, women's long (?)cod and short cod, and hare kells and rolls of hair and knop laces'; bound for $\frac{1}{4}$ of a year, 1668; dau. George L., pipemaker; Janet and John signed indenture but not Elizabeth; original Indenture of Apprenticeship survives (Moses Bundle 65, no. 2868)

LEVEN, Alison: Servant to Archibald Punton, baxter; age 23; unmarried; 'kept the shop' and delivered the bread; signed deposition, 1735 (Edinburgh Commissary Court, CC8/4/639/3)

LIDDLE, Anna: dau. James L., minister at Scone; Apprenticed to Elizabeth Dobson, merchant, dau. Roger D., mayor of Hartlepool; to learn 'her several arts and sciences of white seam, coloured seam, evendown and cutwork, poynt upon bobbins, ... and to make sweetmeats and pastry; bound for 4 years; both signed the indenture, 1686; original Indenture of Apprenticeship survives (SRO, Register of Deeds: RD4/66, fo. 1054)

LINDSAY, Grizel: Servant to Elizabeth Watson, shopkeeper (grocer) (Edinburgh Commissary Court, CC8/4/396)

MacFARQUHAR, Magdalen: Assistant to Christian Hay, graveclothes-maker; dau. John M., writer; age 20, unmarried; helped to make the clothes and travelled with her mistress in a chaise to Dalkeith and saw them put on; judged the prices charged reasonable; signed deposition, 1754 (Ibid., CC8/4/489)

MACKIE, Jess: Apprenticed to a mantuamaker; to be bound for 1 year to a Mrs Baillie who writes about the arrangement to William Sinclair of Lochend; the writer is willing to pay the fee if he will pay the board (Sinclair of Freswick Muniments (SRO): GD 156/435/417). Possibly Aberdeen

MANN, Helen: Servant to Helen Allan, milliner; dau. James M., vintner; worked in Miss Allan's shop for 3 years; made most of the articles in the account in question; signed deposition, 1776 (Edinburgh Commissary Court, CC8/4/534)

MASTERTON, Margaret: dau. George M., tanner; Apprenticed to Janet Justice, shopkeeper and milliner in the High Exchange, 'in her employment of merchandising as a shopkeeper... diligently and faithfully attending on her shop in the Exchange and shewing all such needlework as she shall happen to be employed in...'; bound for 2 years, 1725; original Indenture of Apprenticeship survives (Register House Series: RH9/17/226). See also Appendix 4

MEGGAT, Rebecca: Journeywoman to Daniel Seton, merchant, whose wife Jean Ramsay was a milliner; dau. James M. shoemaker; married Daniel Seton after death of Jean Ramsay (Edinburgh Commissary Court, CC8/6/21)

MILLOY, Barbara: Servant to Mrs Paterson, mantuamaker; age 20; unmarried; signed deposition, 1767 (Ibid., CC8/2/128)

MONEYLAWS, Mary: Servant to Gavin Waugh, baxter; age 19; unmarried; knew the prices and what was put down in the books; kept the shop and delivered out all the bread to the delivery boys; signed deposition, 1753 (Ibid., CC8/4/486)

MURDOCH, Anne: Apprentice to James Shaw, upholsterer; age 15, unmarried; gave out and delivered many of the articles in question; signed deposition, 1757 (Ibid., CC8/4/501)

MURRAY, Cicely: Apprenticed to a Stirling merchant (un-named); later partner of Janet Mushet (see Appendix 2), shopkeeper and milliner in the Luckenbooths, 1740s; dau. George M., apothecary and brother of William M. of Polmaise, Stirlingshire; letter mentioning her apprentice fee of £24 4s sterling and other conditions, 1744 (Murray

of Polmaise Muniments in Central Region Archives
formerly in SRO, GD 189/2/223)

MURRAY, Eleanora: Apprentice to Miss Lawson and Miss MacDonald,
mantuamakers; age 16; unmarried; signed deposition,
1768 (Edinburgh Commissary Court, CC8/4/521)

NAIRN, Anna: Apprenticed to Mrs Shepherd, mantuamaker; dau. William
N. of Dunsinane; 1730 (Ibid., CC8/4/479)

NAPIER, Mary: shopkeeper to her brother Archibald N., druggist;
age 20; unmarried; assisted in keeping his shop for
8 years; made up and delivered articles concerned;
later became a mantuamaker, 1779-80 (Ibid., CC8/
4/536)

NEIL, Anne: Servant to Robert Still, merchant; served about 7 years;
signed deposition, 1789; later with Jean Gray and Co.
(Ibid., CC8/4/547)

NIBLIE, Jean: Apprentice to Miss Douglas, milliner; sister of
Archibald N., writer; taken into Miss D's workroom as
a consequence of a letter from her brother, 1778
(Ibid., CC8/4/535)

NORRIE, Agnes: Apprentice to Rosina Paton, milliner; age 16;
unmarried; had served as apprentice for 19 months at
the time of the case; signed deposition, 1766 (Ibid.,
CC8/4/520)

ORMISTON, Agnes: Apprentice and shopkeeper to Archibald and Patrick
Bowie, merchants; age 16; unmarried; saw articles in
question sold and delivered, and the details written
in the books; signed deposition, 1748 (Ibid.,
CC8/4/461)

POLSON, Betty: Apprentice to Miss Lawson and Miss Dawson, mantua-makers; age 17; unmarried; signed deposition, 1768 (Ibid., CC8/4/521)

PRINGLE, Euphame: dau. late - Pringle of Craigend; Apprentice to Elizabeth Cruikshanks, wife of Robert Grant, W.S. (Edinburgh Poll Tax, 1694)

PYKE, Elizabeth: Servant to Mrs Janet Paterson, mantuamaker; age 44; wife of John Pyke, servant to Mr Paterson; had served in mantuamaking for 12 years; could not write; 1755 (Ibid., CC8/4/493)

RANKIN, Margaret: Shopkeeper to Jean Gray and Co.; had served in the shop for about 5 years; signed deposition, 1789 (Ibid., CC8/4/547)

REID, Katherine: dau. James R., bookbinder; Apprenticed to Janet Gray, dau. late Mr Samuel G., W.S. for 2 years to learn Janet's 'trade as merchandising, shopkeeping and sewing of white seam'; her father paid 2 guineas fee; she was to be maintained at home during her apprenticeship; original indenture survives, signed her indenture, 10 June 1720 (ECA Moses Bundle 156, No. 5981). Later became a milliner in her own right. See Brodie, Elizabeth, above, and Gray, Janet, Appendix 4

RITCHIE, Margaret: dau. late William R., merchant in Aberdeen; Apprentice to Elizabeth Cruikshanks, wife of Robert Grant, W.S. (Edinburgh Poll Tax, 1694)

ROBERTSON, (?) - : sister to William R., minister at Gladsmuir (later Principal of Edinburgh University); Apprenticed to Thomas Young, merchant; her brother was party to

the contract, 1748 (Edinburgh Commissary Court, CC8/4/464)

ROBERTSON, Janet and Grizel, daus. late William R., gardener at Balgonie, and his wife Margaret Fairley: Apprenticed to Lady Dalrymple, wife of Sir High D. of North Berwick, as servants for 10 years; 1773 original Indenture of Apprenticeship survives (Hamilton-Dalrymple of North Berwick Muniments (SRO) GD 110/785)

ROBERTSON, Rachael: Apprentice to M. and J. Allison, mantuamakers; age 20; unmarried; had been apprenticed for 3½ years and had served 2½ years since; signed deposition, 1768 (Edinburgh Commissary Court: CC8/8.521)

ROGER, Ann: Servant to Isobel Kerr, mantuamaker; age 19; had served for 3 years; signed deposition, 1775 (Ibid., CC8/4/532)

ROSS, Margaret: Apprentice to Francis Newton, as shopkeeper, 1713 (Minutes of the Merchant Company of Edinburgh, 1704-14)

RUTHVEN, Elizabeth: Apprentice to Patrick Bowie, merchant; age 15; unmarried; had been apprentice for 3 years; signed deposition, 1754 (Edinburgh Commissary Court, CC8/4/490)

SCOTT, Christian: dau. Francis S. of Greenhill; Apprenticed to Elizabeth Cruikshanks, wife of Robert Grant, W.S. (Edinburgh Poll Tax, 1694)

SCOTT, Elizabeth: Apprenticed to Elizabeth Wilkie, wife of John Colquhoun merchant (Edinburgh Poll Tax, 1694)

SIMPSON, Anne: dau. of James S., deacon of the tailors of South Leith; Apprenticed to James Swan 'in his art and employment of buttonmaking and shopkeeping' for 4 years; he to provide her with bed and board and washing 'as becomes her station'; original Indenture of Apprenticeship survives, 1728 (Moses Bundle 185, no. 7019). Anne's father's testament recorded 5 August 1767

SINCLAIR, Isabell Janet ('Bel'): learned mantuamaking first in Thurso, later worked as an 'improver' with the Misses Sinclair and then Miss Watson in Edinburgh; Letters between her and her sisters about her progress, about how she worked 'for my meat' and of plans for her sister Barbara to learn mantuamaking, 1793-4; Bel died, probably of consumption, in 1795 soon after her return to Caithness (SRO, Sutherland of Forse Muniments: GD 139/370-3)

SMEATON, Euphemia: Servant to E. and M. Millar, milliners; age 20; unmarried; signed deposition, 1778 (Edinburgh Commissary Court, CC8/4/535)

SMITH, Katherine: Servant to the Misses Forbes and Co., milliners for 4 years; age 19; unmarried; carried goods to customers; signed deposition, 1772 (Ibid., CC8/4/527)

STEWART, Jean: Apprentice to Margaret and May McCrabie, milliners; age 16; signed deposition, 1751 (ibid., CC8/2/123)

STRATTON, Elizabeth: Servant to Janet Paterson, mantuamaker; age 18; had served for 6 years; had helped to make most of the goods in question; signed deposition, 1755 (Ibid., CC8/4/493)

- TINDALE, Elizabeth: Apprentice to Anne Mitchell, merchant; dau. late William T., glassgrinder; original Indenture of Apprenticeship survives; 1750 (SRO B22/21/15/3)
- TROTTER, Helen: Servant to Miss Mutter, milliner, who suspected her of dishonesty; she signed a document in connection with the case, 1747 (ECA BCP Box 115, Bundle 291)
- TURNBULL, Jean: Shopkeeper to William Trotter, merchant; involved in a case which took place after she and - MacKenzie, another of the shopkeepers, had locked up the shop on the North Bridge for the night and were walking home at 10.00 p.m.; 1786 (ibid., Box 175, Bundle 462)
- WARDROPE, Anne: Apprenticed to Christian Learmonth, milliner, q.v. in Appendix 2
- WATSON, Bessie: Apprenticed to Agnes Jackson, wife of Patrick Fortune, Dalkeith, for lacemaking, 1694; dau. James W., brother of George W., merchant; original Indenture of Apprenticeship survives; said to be still working lace, stockings, etc. in 1723 'as other women uses to do', during the hearing of a brieve of idiotry raised against her (SRO Merchant Company of Edinburgh Records: GD 277/23/1)
- WATSON, Margaret: Apprenticed to (?) Margaret Wood, washerwoman, 'to be taught washing and dressing'; 1740 (Register House Series: RH9/17/156/15)
- WAUCHOPE, Margaret: Apprentice to Miss Fraser and Partner, shopkeepers; age 18; signed deposition, 1754 (Edinburgh Commissary Court, CC8/4/489)
- WILLOCK, Elizabeth: Servant to Mary Elliot, mantuamaker; 1746 (Ibid, CC8/4/532)

WORDIE, Isobel: Apprentice to Anne Lindsay, mantuamaker; age 15; unmarried; assisted in making goods and carrying them to customers; signed deposition, 1758 (Ibid., CC8/4/503)

WYLIE, Agnes: 'one of the weekly pensioners of the Old Greyfriars' Session'; Apprenticed to Jean Cumming, Sp. Peter Sands, cordiner, for 'buttonmaking and other sewing work' for 5 years; George Mackie, merchant, one of the elders of the Old Greyfriars' Session stood cautioner for her, he binding himself to pay Jean Cumming for the next 2½ years Agnes's pension of 9d a week, for which she was to maintain Agnes in bed and board and washing clothes 'befitting one of her station'; Agnes signed with her initials only; 1734; original Indenture of Apprenticeship survives (ECA Moses Bundle 185)

YOUNG, Isobel: Assistant to Jean Cheyne, graveclothes-maker; also assisted in the shop of her mistress's brother, John Cheyne, surgeon; age 20; unmarried; helped to put on the graveclothes; signed deposition, 1753 (Edinburgh Commissary Court, CC8/4/486)

YOUNG, Jean: Apprenticed to Euphemia Nisbet, Sp. George Glendinning, merchant, for weaving of fringes, buttonmaking and sewing; on 29 June 1660 she petitioned the Town Council, 'being now at her own hand in a chop working such handywork and making sale thereof', asking for a licence. (Extracts from the Records of the burgh of Edinburgh, Volume 1655-65, p.204)

APPENDIX 4

MARRIED WOMEN AND WORK: WIVES AND WIDOWS

Note: Sp - Spouse
W - Widow

ADAM, Helen, Graveclothes-maker; W. Patrick Rattray, surgeon-apothecary; Mr R., druggist, stated before the Merchant Company in 1709 that his wife had no trade except making dead linens, for which she bought the linen from Edinburgh Merchants (Merchant Company Minutes, 1709); Helen gave Katherine Brown muslin to sell (Ibid., 1710); her dau. helped her to make graveclothes; after Patrick's death (1729) Helen received charitable payments from the Incorporation of Surgeons, being in poor circumstances, 1738-40 and in 1741 the year of her death, when the Incorporation also paid her funeral expenses; after her death her son, William, asked to be put to a new master (surgeon), (Edinburgh Commissary Court, CC8/4/293; Minutes of the Incorporation of Surgeons)

ALEXANDER, Mary, Brewer; Dau. Malcolm A., brewer in Leith; W. Alexander Swinton, clerk to the burgh of Canongate. In a case raised against her by her husband's creditors in 1732 it was stated that her father had dispoed his brewhouse and equipment to her in 1729 excluding her husband's ius mariti 'or concern in the management thereof' (Edinburgh Commissary Court, CC8/8/95, 8 November 1732)

ALLAN, Anne, Sick-nurse; Sp. James Duncan, cordiner, Portsburgh;
nursed John Robb, portioner in Portsburgh in 1726,
charging 6d per day (Ibid., CC8/4/282)

AUCHINLECK, Rachael, W. Duncan MacQueen, white-iron smith; continued
business after his death; in 1787 accused of altering
a house at the head of World's End Close (Edinburgh
Commissary Court, CC8/4/531, 536; Court of Sssion
processes, CS 271/71062)

BAILIE, Bethia, Rouping-woman; W. John B., minister at Ecclesmachan;
she was rouping in 1734 with Agnes Mclelland (Sp.
James Rait, merchant); later went to live in
Linlithgow (Edinburgh Commissary Court, CC8/8/96;
Ministers' Widows Fund records, CH9/14/1)

BANNATYNE, Katherine, Roomsetter; Sp. Mr George Barclay (episcopal)
minister, 'residenter' in Edinburgh; Sir Robert
Dunbar, having rented a room from them pursued Mr
Barclay 'as master of the house' for missing
property. Barclay claimed he took nothing to do with
the roomsetting and that Dunbar 'should rather pursue
his wife'. 1718 (ECA BCP Box 48, Bundle 128)

BARCLAY, Mrs Margaret, Mantuumaker to the Theatre Royal; in 1774
'at the back of the Theatre' (Edinburgh Directory);
a bill due to her by Mrs Niblie, 1779 (Edinburgh
Commissary Court, CC8/4/535)

BEAT, Katherine, Rouping-woman; Sp. David B., writing-master, 1736
(Ibid., CC8/8/98). Her dau., see below.

- BEAT, Katherine, Tailor; W. John Burnet, tailor; dau. of above;
her foreman, William Fraser (age 24) deponed that he
had entered the household as foreman to her husband
until the latter's death in 1775 and continued with
his widow 'who still carries on the business' (Ibid.,
CC8/4/532)
- BELL, Alison, Dyer; W. John Smibert, litster (marr. 1678); bill due
to her by Hay of Haystoun receipted by her, 1715 (SRO,
GD 34/599a)
- BLACKWOOD, Jean, Rouping-woman; W. Alexander Glass, W.S.; in 1739,
along with Ann Hamilton, sp. Charles MacKie, professor
of History at the College, valued furniture of late
Robert Blackwood, merchant, whose dau. she may have
been; list of the furniture survives with the women's
signed estimation (Edinburgh Commissary Court, CC8/
8/100, 17 February 1739)
- BLAIR, Jean, Rouping-woman; Sp. Thomas Kay, goldsmith; valued goods
with Jean Tait (Ibid., CC8/8/112/1)
- BOLD, Jean, Rouping-woman; W. John Forbes, pewterer; roused goods
of Elizabeth Strachan, 1734 (Ibid., CC8/8/96, 19
October 1734)
- BONNER, Lillas, Rouping-woman; Sp. James Miller (marr. 1734)
merchant and auctioneer; Dau. of a skinner; she was
paid £3 for rousing goods but refused to pay for
certain goods she had taken, claiming that she was
entitled to them for her trouble (Ibid., CC8/4/518,
1766; CC8/4/533, 1777). In 1784 when she was a widow
she applied for and received a pension from the
Merchant Company, £3 sterling (Merchant Company
Minutes, 1783-1802)

- BORTHWICK, Elizabeth, Shopkeeper; W. Thomas Scott (bro. Sir James S. of Gala); complaint by her against Crichton, Hope and Co., to whom she had let her shop in tack, objecting to their communicating door between the shop and her house, 1735 (ECA, Dean of Guild Book, 1735-7, p.74)
- BORTHWICK, Isobel, Rouping-woman; Sp. William Ormiston, bookbinder; rouping in 1740 (Edinburgh Commissary Court, CC8/8/104)
- BOWIE, Agnes; W. Robert Newbigging, feltmaker (marr. 1691); in 1718 she complained of having been given the wrong wool for her workers (ECA BCP Box 48, Bundle 128)
- BOWIE, Katherine, Rouping-woman; called auctioneer, 1782 (Edinburgh Commissary court: CC8/8/125/1) and 1787 (Ibid., CC8/8/119/2)
- BRAND, Barbara (Mrs Ross), Roomsetter; sued for payment of rent, provisions, etc., owed to her by Lady Lee who died in her lodgings, 1733 (Ibid., CC8/4/639/2)
- BRAND, Margaret, Shopkeeper; bills due to her from Earl of Lauderdale's family, from 1742; letters from her to the Earl's factor about non-payment of bills, 1763-5 (Lauderdale Papers, temporarily deposited in SRO: TD 87/55/61/19)
- BROWN, Elizabeth, Saddler; (?) W.; several of her bills turn up in Commissary Court records, for saddles, horse-rugs, parts of harness, whips and riding caps, 1773-81 (Edinburgh Commissary Court: CC8/4/531, 537)

- BROWN, Mrs, Wright; (?) W.; bill for a coffin for John Forbes, shoemaker, receipted by the (?) foreman John Duncan, 'for Mrs Brown, Paul's Work', 13 September 1791 (Ibid., CC8.4.552)
- BRUCE, Katherine; W. Thomas Heriot, Wright; marr. of T.H., wright, and K.B., dau. Charles B., glazier, 19 Dec. 1762 (Edin. Marriages); probably her advertised in Edinburgh Courant, 12 February 1785, carrying on her late husband's business
- BUCHANAN, Margaret, Rouping-woman; Sp. John Clelland, gardener at Moultriehill; values goods, 1750 (Edinburgh Commissary Court: CC8/8/113/1, 18 January 1750)
- CAMPBELL, Agnes, Printer; W. of Andrew Anderson, HM Printer, whose business she carried on; as Sp. of Patrick Telfer, (?) her second husband, she complained to the Town Treasurer of non-payment of £445 17s 8d due to her for printing the town's accounts in 1686 (ECA Town Council Minutes, Vol. 31, p.71). Won her case when she went to Court in order to retain her patent
- CAMPBELL, Mrs Mary, Rouping-woman; Sp. Dougal C., HM Engineer for the Northern District (Edinburgh Commissary Court: CC8/8/104, May 1741)
- CARFRAE, Jean; Dau. Mr Patrick C., minister at Morham; W. Adam Dalmahoy, glover, (marr. 1792); advertised in Caledonian Mercury, 4 June 1808, carrying on business

CHALMERS, Elizabeth; set up a linen and cotton manufactory in Musselburgh in 1756; dau. William C., provost of Aberdeen; sp. Archibald Scott, surgeon, Musselburgh; employed about 1200 people in and around Musselburgh and in Edinburgh; acquired her own stamp from Board of Trustees for Manufactures. (See Article on Mrs Scott by Vanessa Habib, Scottish Industrial History, vol. 8 (1985))

CHARTERIS, Margaret, Shopkeeper; Dau. Bailie C., merchant; Sp. Daniel Stewart, WS. (marr. 1711); he became burgess by her right, 1712; bills due to her from the Clerks of Penicuik, 1726-29 (SRO, GD 18/2172/4); bills due to her also in Commissary Court records, 1734-39 (Ibid., CC8/4/356), 1749 (Ibid., CC8/4/465); her own testament, 8 March 1749 (CC8/8/112/2)

CHIRNSIDE, Janet, Shopkeeper; Sp. John C., clerk; she and her husband became bankrupt in 1786; accused of concealing their goods from creditors; during the case it was stated that it was she rather than her husband who 'properly speaking carried on the business of haberdasher', he being a clerk in a paper warehouse (ECA BCP Box 175, Bundle 464)

CHRISTIE, Catherine, Wet-nurse; Sp. Alexander Stewart, servant to a W.S.; she sued for unpaid bill for nursing the child of 'the late Mrs Lawson' for 7 months and 6 days at £1 5s a quarter; 1784 (Edinburgh Commissary Court, CC8/4/542)

CLARK, Susannah, Baxter; W. Laurence C., baxter in Canongate; bill due to her from Earl of Panmure's family, 1725 (SRO, GD 45/18/134)

- CLEGHORN, Louisa, Sick-nurse; Sp. Archibald Russell, weaver, Canongate; age 55; it was 'her business to wait upon sick persons'; gave a deposition about nursing the widow of a man who had died of fever, the woman eventually being put in the Tolbooth 'delirious'; 1775 (Edinburgh Commissary Court, CC8/4/644)
- CLELLAND, Elizabeth, Stabler; W. William Yule; in her testament rent was owing for a dwelling house and stables to Thomas Cleghorn, merchant; inventory of her household goods; 1748 (Ibid., CC8/8/111/2, 5 January 1748)
- CLELLAND, Margaret, Roomsetter; W. Donald MacLaren, turner; inventory of the goods of William Taylor, W.S. who died in her rooms, 1791 (Ibid., CC8/4/551)
- COCHRANE, Janet, Weaver; W. James Wylie, weaver (marr. 1649); she petitioned the magistrates for reduction of her annuity tax; 'has a loom for support of herself and 2 children'; tax reduced from £4 to £2; 1691 (ECA Moses Bundles, 177)
- COWAN, Barbara, Graveclothes-maker; Dau. James C., merchant; W. Roderick Urquhart, W.S.; bills due to her in Commissary Court processes, including graveclothes for the Countess of Roxburgh (1756); (Edinburgh Commissary Court, CC8/4/479, 501, 505). Assisted by her niece Henrietta Cumming, qu.v. Appendix 3
- COWAN, Helen, Graveclothes-maker; Dau. James C., merchant; Sp. Robert Dallas, wright (marr. 1727); sister of Barbara C., above; her husband included 'a suit of dead flannells furnished by my spouse £2' with his own wright's charges for a coffin, 1737 (Ibid., CC8/4/383)

CRAWFORD, Mrs, Roomsetter; Sp. Hugh C., residenter in Edinburgh; she (and her husband 'for his interest') sued Lord Bellenden for unpaid bill for lodgings; the bill survives; 1786 (ECA BCP Box 175 Bundle 462)

CUNNINGHAM, Mrs. Rouping-woman; her husband was at one time imprisoned for debt; rousing in 1766 (Edinburgh Commissary Court, CC8/4/518)

DALGLEISH, Mrs, and Son, Auctioneers; (?) Katherine D., W. James D., auctioneer (d. 1783); found as rousing-woman in testaments in 1765, 1769, 1781 (Ibid., CC8/8/120/1; 121/1; 125/2); advertised in Edinburgh Courant, 3 December 1785)

DOBIE, Ann, Graveclothes-maker and 'washerwoman'; Dau. Richard D., bro. Sir Robert D. of Stanyhill; Sp. Mr David Freebairn, (episcopal) minister (marr. 1699); bills due to her from Clerks of Penicuik, 1709 (SRO, GD 18/2172); and Dundas family, 1720s (SRO, GD 75/3/320)

DUNDAS, Bethia, Shopkeeper; Sp. (1) Alexander Frog, writer (1668); (2) Robert Veitch, W.S. (1686); (3) Robert Innes, writer (1693); appears in the Edinburgh Poll Tax list with her husband Robert Innes; bill due to her from Laird of Dundas, to whom she may have been related, 1691-2 (SRO, GD 75/312); in 1711 took Robert Newlands to court for non-payment of an account (ECA BCP Box 48 Bundle 127)

DOUGLAS, Elizabeth, Roomsetter; W. Francis Aird, merchant; bill due to her for board, lodging and washing for Thomas Bruce, s. Sir Alexander Bruce of Broomhall, nephew of Sir Wm. B., architect, 1681-4 (SRO, GD 29/1521)

DUNCANSON, Helen, Stabler; W. John Crawford, stabler (marr. 1757); Sp. (2) Daniel Mackenzie, stabler (marr. him when he was a sergeant in the 3rd Regt. of Footguards); Dau. of a miller; she is called 'Nellie Duncanson, Stabler'; in 1788 her servant, Ann Thomson (age 26), stated in a court deposition that she had served Crawford and after his death 'remained in his widow's service'; she also deponed that her mistress had sent her to the warehouse of William Espy, distiller, and that she had seen her mistress (in her associated tavern) measuring the liquor assisted by the porter; in Helen's own deposition she stated that she had been her late husband's 'prepositura' in retailing liquor and marking it down as it came from the warehouse (Edinburgh Commissary court, CC8/4/545)

EDMONSTON, Jean, Shopkeeper; in the Low Exchange; Sp. George Grant, W.S.; in John Bell's ledger in 1711 (SRO, GD 241/434); in 1719, a letter from her to Thomas Kincaid who built the Exchange promising to pay her rent from the sale of goods (ECA BCP Box 63, Bundle 157)

ENGLISH, Margaret (and Agnes), Milliners; Daus. John E., merchant; Margaret marr. Wm. Caddell, potter in Prestonpans, who became a burgess in her right in 1764; in partnership with her sister Agnes; 'Agnes English and Co.' supplied fringe for 'the Provident's seat in the New Kirk', 1762 (ECA Town Council Minutes, 3 February 1762); in 1784 Agnes, the remaining partner announced in the Edinburgh Courant, 16 January 1784 that she was handing over the business to her niece Miss Caddell and a friend, Miss Brodie

- ESPLIN, Mary (Mrs Lawrence), Schoolmistress; Sp. - Lawrence, engraver; sister of Charles E., who was an engraver and designer, including embroidery designs for men's waistcoats; she advertised in Caledonian Mercury, 10 July 1752 that she had given up merchandising and was teaching embroidery, making of patterns, etc.; her husband taught drawing as well as practising engraving
- FENTON, Amelia and Isobel, Suppliers of funeral provisions; see Appendix 2, under HEPBURN, Margaret
- FERGUSON, Jean, Graveclothes-maker; Sp. Archibald Urie, goldsmith; sued for non-payment of bills in 1733 (Edinburgh Commissary Court, CC8/4/356) and 1735 (Ibid., CC8/2/111); the Earl of Crawford as executor (and possibly creditor) of her son James Urie contested the cost of graveclothes which Jean herself had made for her son, 1755 (Ibid., CC8/4/495); Jean signed her own bills
- FRASER, Jean, Milliner; sis. Major John F., of East India Company whose testament is recorded 19 August 1765 (Ibid., CC8/2/128); Sp. John MacArthur, W.S., whose designation in the Register of Burgesses was changed from 'merchant' to 'writer' (he asked for an extract of this amendment), a significant point since it was his wife who was the merchant; a possible relative, listed in the Burgess Register (made burgess and guildbrother gratis in 1741) was 'Mr James Fraser late of Bombay'; Jean's husband, John MacArthur, raised an action against Janet Spence, sp. of Richard S., shoemaker in Linlithgow, for an unpaid millinery bill, during which evidence was given by Jean's servants, Grizel Mason (age 25) and Elizabeth Robertson (age 20). (Ibid., CC8/2/128, 6 December 1765)

GIBB, Barbara (Baby), Rouping-woman; Sp. William G., subclerk to the weighhouse; dau. of a vintner; she valued goods with Janet Pringle, 4 April 1746 (Ibid., CC8/8/110)

GIBSON, Isobel, Mrs, Roomsetter; (?) W.; assigned a bill owed to her by Lord Bargany to Alexander Gibson, underclerk of Session; the bill includes lodging of Bargany's children and their 'pedagogue'; SRO, GD 109/2852)

GIBSON, Janet, Milliner; Dau. George G., merchant; Sp. Captain John Dick, shipmaster in Leith; her brother was educated at Heriot's Hospital, 1737 (ECA BCP Box 114, Bundle 289); her husband became a burgess in her right in 1743

GIBSON, Rebecca, Teacher of Music; Dau. of Cornforth G., late music teacher in Edinburgh; Sp. Guiseppe Puppo, musician (marr. 1775); in an action for divorce he stated that he had 'no encouragement in his line' while she earned more through her private teaching; 1782 (Edinburgh Commissary Court, CC8/6/40)

GOODWILLY, Mrs, Sick-nurse; attended Mr Aneas Oliphant of Balgonie, W.S. in his last illness, 1716, for 41 days at 6d per day (day and night), 'conforme to an arrangement with his lady albeit she uses to get 12 pence from some of like quality'; her bill survives (Ibid., CC8/4/212)

GRANT, Margaret, Grocer; Sp. George Cowan, wright; it was said in court, 'as to the account due to Mrs Cowan, her spouse has no proper knowledge thereof himself and adheres to what she shall depone thereanent'; her daughter helped her in the shop (Ibid., CC8/4/469)

GRAY, Janet, Shopkeeper; Dau. Samuel G., W.S. and Margaret Chiesely; Sp. Patrick Murray, son of John M. of Broughton, Galloway (marr. 1721); her sisters, Hannah and Margaret were also shopkeepers in the Exchange and appear as does Janet, in John Bell's ledger; Margaret married Andrew Mitchell, clerk in the Excise Office (1728); Janet appears in Bell's ledger in 1709 (SRO, GD 241/434); after marriage she worked in her husband's shop in the Luckenbooths; his testament, 22 january 1755 (Edinburgh Commissary Court, CC8/115/2)

HALIBURTON, Anna, Shopkeeper; dau. James H. of Watterbutts, later in Edinburgh; W. David Gray, merchant; bills due to her by Clerks of Penicuik, 1723-5 (SRO, GD 18/2172/4)

HALIBURTON, Isobel, Shopkeeper; dau. Thomas H., cordiner; Sp. (1) James Lithgow, merchant (marr. 1668), (2) Mr Samuel Nimmo, minister at Colinton (marr. 1704), an Episcopalian deposed for refusing to read the proclamation of William and Mary; Isobel was warned by the Merchant Company for unfree trading in 1707 (see Appendix 1), and was still trading, having been widowed a second time, in 1718 (ECA BCP Box 61, Bundle 155)

HAMILTON, Mrs; W. William H., seedsman; she advertised in the Caledonian Mercury in 1752 about her stock of plants; 'she has had the opportunity of trying the chief articles since the seeds came home...'

HAMILTON, Anne, Rouping-woman; dau. Henry H. of Swanson, surgeon, and Katherine Ross (dau. of James R. of Swanson); Sp. Charles McKie, professor of History at the College; in 1739 she is found valuing the furniture of the late Robert Blackwood, merchant, with Jean

Blackwood (Edinburgh Commissary Court, CC8/8/99,
17 February 1739)

HART, Margaret, Milliner; Sp. Robert Clerk, goldsmith, who became a burgess in her right in 1763; action against her in the Burgh Court by John Weir and company, bleachers, he accusing her of failing to hand over money for cloth bleached, she refusing to hand it over until all the cloth had been returned from the bleachfield; she acted as agent for the bleachfield, which her brother had possessed before Weir, collecting cloth for bleaching, for which she took 5% (ECA BCP Box 140, Bundle 358)

HONEYMAN, Rachael, Mantumaker; Dau. John H., minister at Kinneff; Sp. William Elphinston, 'late [episcopal] minister at Logie' (marr. 1718); bill due to her from the earl of Panmure, 1715 (SRO, GD 45/18/10/10); complaint by her against the wife of Lord Edward Murray for unpaid account, 1718 (ECA BCP Box 48, Bundle 128)

HOWIESON, Isobel, Broker; Sp. John Colson, 'late merchant'; she let a house to a tailor whom she accused of removing furniture; he objected that her husband owed him money and that he had taken the items as security, and that her husband ought to have been called 'for his interest'; it was objected in turn that according to their marriage contract she had full power to act in the matter without her husband's consent; outcome not known; 1788 (Ibid., Box 180, Bundle 478)

HUTCHISON, Mrs Dorothea, Shopkeeper and graveclothes-maker; pursued as a creditor against daughters of Mr George Hume of Kello, one of the principal clerks of Edinburgh, whose graveclothes she had made, as well as their own mournings, 1743. Depositions by her own daughter Helen (age 20) and her servant Helen Thomson (age 36); bills due to her survive in the process (ECA BCP Box 113 Bundle 287)

HUTCHISON, Jean and Son, Merchants; her deposition in the case of Thomas Franks, music teacher, 1770; declared she and her son were 'in Company'; deposition by their journeywoman, Magdalen Aitken (age 22) who had served 4 years, who testified that Mrs H. had made the goods; a bill for 1767 survives in the process (Edinburgh Commissary Court: CC8/4/523)

HUTCHISON, Margaret, Sick-nurse; W. John Sibbald, distiller; her deposition in a case in 1756 when she was age 40; attended 8 days and the deathbed, and sat up with the corpse afterwards; could not write, initialled her deposition (Ibid., CC8/4/503)

INGLIS, Mrs Joanna, Roomsetter; (?) W.; Mr Michael Bruce of Gray's Regiment died when in her lodgings, bill for board extant in the process, 1757; she and servant deponed re. quality of graveclothes, 1759 (Ibid., CC8/4/505)

JACK, Jean, Midwife; Sp. - J., carpenter in Leith; gave deposition in case of a child born in a house of bad-fame; she warned the father he could be blackmailed; found a nurse for the child having forced the mother to name the father before she would deliver the child. (Ibid., CC8/6/65). See Chapter 2

- KIDD, Mrs, Milliner; sis. of Sybilla Hutton (See Appendix 2); Sp. of Captain K.; advertised in Edinburgh Courant about taking in boarders (school), December 1785; (?) North Bridge Street in 1786 (SRO, Inhabited House Tax: E 326/3)
- KILGOUR, Jean, Roomsetter; Sp. Hugh Wilson, servant to Lord Drumore; her husband protested for payment against the executors of Wm. Moffat, writer, who died in their rooms; Mrs Wilson attended and sat up with him which she 'as mistress of a family was not obliged to do', if she had not she would have had to pay someone else to do so; had procured candle, coal, etc.; 1748 (Edinburgh Commissary Court: CC8/4/464)
- LINDSAY, Sarah, Schoolmistress; Dau. William L., barber and wigmaker; Sp. Patrick McKeller, writing master; advertised in Caledonian Mercury, 4 June 1751, her husband taught writing and she taught all kinds of embroidery, etc.; she would take apprentices provided they could find security
- LOTHIAN, Janet, Rouping-woman; Dau. George L. of Belches; sister of George Lothian, apothecary, whose goods she roused; W. John Lindsay, merchant, who had become burgess in her right; designated 'one of the ordinary accustomed rousing women within this city', 1747 (ECA BCP Box 114 Bundle 290)
- LYLE, Elizabeth, Rouping-woman; Dau. Thomas L., merchant; W. James Stewart, W.S.; appears in recorded testaments as rousing-woman, 3, 7 and 27 May 1742 (Edinburgh Commissary Court: CC8/8/106); 30 April and 7 May 1744 (Ibid., CC8/8/108)

LYON, Sybilla, Rouping-woman; W. Charles Dickson, goldsmith, son of Charles D. Provost of Forfar; post-nuptial marr. contract, 1737 (Ibid., CC8/4/639/1); details of the cost of advertising a roup in which she was involved, January 1748 (Ibid., CC8/8/111/2); her son Charles, also a goldsmith, valued gold and silver articles; pension to her after husband's death, 8 May, 1738 (GD 1/482/2); details of roup she carried out in the year of her death (Ibid., CC8/8/115/1, 5 September 1754); her own testament recorded, 22 August 1754 (Ibid., CC8/8/115/1)

McCALLUM, Rachael, Shopkeeper, Milliner and Dressmaker; Dau. John McC., 'residenter'; Sp. Laurence Mitchell, engraver (marr. 1796) from Dumbarton; advertised in Caledonian Mercury, 2 June 1808 that she had moved to the South Bridge, opposite the College, from Princes Street, had the latest fabrics from London; she died 16 July and her husband on 21 July 1817, by which time she was back in Princes Street; her inventory includes the value of her stock-in-trade and shop fixtures as £263 16s 1½d (SRO, Edinburgh Sheriff Court records: SC 70/1/17, p.72)

MacDONALD, Janet, Broker, auctioneer and changekeeper; Sp. - Brockie; references to goods in 'her broking ware room' in cases in the burgh court, 1785 (ECA BCP Box 175 Bundle 463), 1791 (ECA Register of Sequestrations and Sales); in 1791 she was sued for rent for her house at the foot of Silverwells Close in the Cowgate (ECA Register of Sequestrations and Sales)

- McINTOSH, Margaret, Rouping-woman; Sp. Alexander Coatts, tailor; said to 'have gone wrong in her circumstances' in 1764 (Edinburgh Commissary Court: CC8/4/518); good details of activities surrounding a roup which she conducted, including the roup roll and her account, 1769 (Ibid., CC8/4/521); her own testament recorded 27 February 1772 (Ibid., CC8/8/122/1)
- McKINLAY, Mrs, Midwife; advertised in the Edinburgh Courant, 6 June 1785 for 'experienced nursery maid to wean and take care of an infant'; lived in Gosford's Close
- McLEOD, Mrs, Roomsetter; W. Norman M., cook to the Justice Clerk; Robert Dodds, Marchmont Herald had died in their lodgings: Mrs M. had sat up many nights and had paid for washing, 1776 (Edinburgh Commissary Court, CC8/4/531)
- McPHERSON, Mrs Margaret, Roomsetter; W. Duncan, M., resider in Edinburgh; the Earl of Dalhousie had died in her lodgings in 1764, having lodged 8 weeks; she gave deposition re. quality of the graveclothes made by Mrs Ged (Ibid., CC8/4/518); bill for lodging due to her survives in Lord Dalhousie's testament, recorded 18 February 1767 (Ibid., CC8/8/120/2)
- MASTERTON, Margaret, Shopkeeper in the Lawnmarket, Dau. George M., tanner, and Elizabeth Bowie (called stabler during her widowhood); apprenticed to Janet Justice (see Appendix 3), shopkeeper and milliner, in 1725, original Indenture extant (SRO, RH 9/17/298); Sp. William Yule, stabler, who became burgess in her right, 1736; Margaret died in 1737, he in 1743; account to her, 1728 (SRO, RH 9/1/226); account to Yule and his wife, although the goods were made and sold by her, 1730 (Edinburgh Commissary Court:

CC8/4/639/1); account due by her to John Cochrane, merchant, 1732 (Ibid., CC8/4/639/1); in a post-nuptial marriage contract between her and Yule all goods were to pertain to the longest liver and then to their daughter, 1737 (Ibid., CC8/4/639/1)

METHVEN, Ann, Shopkeeper; Sp. John Leggat, shoemaker; she was pursued in the burgh court for non-payment of a loan of £18 which Lady Nicholson had given her 'for enabling her to carry on her business'; she said she was willing to pay if given a little longer, 1760; no outcome known (ECA BCP Box 136 Bundle 345)

MITCHELL, Margaret, Rouping-woman; Sp. Alexander Arthur, tailor; referred to as rousing-woman, 'common evaluator' and graveclothes-maker, 1748 (Edinburgh Commissary Court: CC8/8/103); bills to her for making graveclothes, 1738 (Ibid., CC8/4/124; 4/473)

MITCHELL, Mary; W. William Stewart, wigmaker; bill due to her, 'Mrs Stewart wigmaker in Edinburgh', 1745 (Ibid., CC8/4/463)

MOLLINEAR, Mary, Roomsetter, 1786-88; case raised by her husband Charles M. against John Putchini, stuccoist and figure maker, Bailie Grant's Close, Netherbow; the bill for lodgings is headed 'John Potcheny deter to Mary Mollinear' (ECA BCP Box 180 Bundle 478)

MUIR, Susannah, Sick-nurse; Sp. George Nicol, servant to Mr John Maitland, bro. Earl of Lauderdale; her bill for nursing survives, 28 nights at 8d a night and 20 nights' use of the bedpan at 1d a night; could not sign; 1749 (Edinburgh Commissary Court: CC8/4/469)

- MURRAY, Jean, Shopkeeper; Dau. J.M., W.S.; W. Alexander Mitchell, merchant (marr. 1746); her husband's testament includes details of provision made for her by her father prior to her marriage, including '2000 merks for carrying on any trade or business she would think proper, to revert to her children in the event of her death (10 October 1753 Ibid., CC8/8/114/2); inventory of the shop also included in her husband's testament
- MURRAY, Margaret, Seedmerchant; dau. Andrew M. of Murrayhall; W. Archibald Eagle, seedsman (marr. 1751). Bill to Lady Hay of Leys, 1768 (Ibid., CC8/4/520); protested unpaid bill by Sir James Naismith, 1765 (Ibid., CC8/4/517); Archd. Eagle died 1760; she in business 1786 when she took an apprentice, Peter Lawson (Reg. of Apprentices)
- NISBET, Christian, Rouping-woman; her signed bill for rousing the goods of William Rhind, schoolmaster in the Grassmarket, extant, 1748 (Ibid., CC8/4/461)
- NORRIE, Helen, Merchant; W.; (?) Marriage of Miss Helen Mayler to Robert Norrie, painter, she dau. of Alex. M., brewer in Lady Yester's parish, 7 August 1763; in 1779 a case in the Commissary court against Marion Walker, wid. David Porteous, painter, one of the bills concerned being due to Helen Norrie for brushes and other equipment (Ibid., CC8/4/537)
- NORRIE, Jean, Shopkeeper selling paints, etc.; (?) Sp. James N., painter and colourman; bills in Breadalbane Muniments due to her for white lead, paints and brushes, one of them receipted 'James Norrie for Jean Norrie', 1753 (SRO, GD 112/21/287, 289)

PATERSON, Janet, Mantuamaker; Sp. James P., staymaker; bills due to her and her husband, separately for separate garments, by dau. of John Davidson of Whitehouse, 1755 (Edinburgh Commissary Court: CC8/4/493); bill due to her from Miss Lucy Scott of Scotstarvit, 1760 (Ibid., CC8/2/127); in 1767 a bill due to her from the executors of the Misses Balfour to whom she had been 'ordinary mantuamaker'; deposition by her servant Barbara Milroy who had served her since 1753 (Ibid., CC8/2/128); she had a daughter, also a mantuamaker, who marr. David Seaton, naval lieutenant

PETTIGREW, Helen, Smith; W. (1) John Chalmers, smith in North Leith and (2) James Greig, smith there; in a case against her by her second husband's creditors, 1766, it was stated that she had married him when a widow and he was her servant, but instead of assisting her he took to drink; at the time of their marriage she 'had a well furnished shop and carried on her trade'; deposition by her foreman of 17 years' standing who stated that it had always been she who made trade contracts, bought the iron, kept the accounts and paid the workers (Ibid., CC8/4/518)

POLSON, Katherine, Shopkeeper, Sp. Alexander Haig, wright; bills due to her for cheese and brandy as well as for making shirts and head-cloths, 1719 (ECA BCP Box 61, Bundle 157)

PORTEOUS, Margaret, Sick-nurse, age 58; W. Robert Robertson, heelmaker; 'watched with the defunct one night before his death and sat up with his corpse two nights thereafter', 1759 (Edinburgh Commissary Court: CC8/4/505)

- PRINGLE, Mary, Vintner; W. Peter Crichton, indweller in Edinburgh; account due to her for ale, 1746 (Ibid., CC8/4/455)
- RAMSAY, Esther, Rouping-woman and broker; Sp. John Chrystal, slater; valued goods in a testament, November 1783; disposition by her to her daus. of properties in Edinburgh, 1787. Unable to sign (SRO, GD 1/121/6, 7); daughters, Esther m. David Watson, W.S., Margaret m. Alexander Edmonston, goldsmith and Isobel m. Wm. Hume, lintdresser
- RAMSAY, Janet, Seller of grass; W. John Sutherland; in 1735 action raised against her for selling grass 'without setting up a trade' but the action was dismissed as groundless (ECA Dean of Guild Minute Book, 1735-6)
- RAMSAY, Jean, Milliner; dau. Gilbert R., W.S.; sister of Katherine and Ann R., (see Appendix 2); Sp. Daniel Seton, merchant and milliner (his wife's work), (marr. 1743); bill due to her from the Countess of Cassillis, 1742 (SRO, GD 25/9/18/4); bill to her from George Drummond of Blair Drummond, 1752 (SRO, GD 24/5/4/136); she died in 1766, her will extant (SRO, GD 1/790/1); after her death Daniel Seton married (2) their journeywoman Rebecca Meggat (See Appendix 3)
- RATTRAY, Anne, Baxter; W. Alexander Steven, baxter; she wished to keep the business on for her old age and contested claims of her husband's creditor saying that she was his creditor in terms of their marriage contract. It was argued in her defence that her late husband had been indolent and if it had not been for her 'industry' he would not have had a shilling (Edinburgh Commissary Court: CC8/4/532)

ROBERTSON, Isobel, Dairywoman; Sp. William Watson, W.S.; in 1754 she supplied milk for the season to Joseph Christie at Saltoun Barley Mill bleachfield; the bill is receipted by her husband; deposition by Elizabeth Milton her servant and Patrick McLellan her husband's servant; the milk supplied was 'made at Mrs Watson's house at Pilmuir for the bleachfields for several years' (Ibid., CC8/4/495)

ROBERTSON, Mause, Mantuumaker; Sp. Robert Lindsay, tailor (marr. 1669); accounts due to her in 1690s from Clerks of Penicuik and others (SRO, GD 18/2172/2; GD, 76/123/3)

ROLLO, Mary, Whiteiron-smith; Dau. Walter R., baxter; Sp. James Auchinleck, whiteiron-smith (marr. 1719); bill receipted by her, 1747 (Edinburgh Commissary Court: CC8/4/455); their dau. Rachael Auchinleck (see above), marr. Duncan MacQueen, whiteiron-smith

ROOK, Mary, Vintner of the Rook Tavern; Sp. Christopher Alexander, 'who had been insane' some time before his death; one witness in a case (a brewer) deponed that she kept a Tavern 'in her own name, "the Rook tavern"'; 1787 (ECA BCP Box 180 Bundle 479)

ROSS, Fenella, Rouping-woman; Sp. James Gordon, saddler in Edinburgh; valued goods with Katherine Gordon, 14 February 1722; her testament, 14 May 1747 (Edinburgh Commissary Court: CC8/8/111/1)

SHEILLS, Barbara and Violet, Milliners; Barbara marr. George Ramsay, W.S. (1725); Violet marr. Thomas Crockat, merchant (1724); their mother Violet Young (dau. Walter Y., merchant) a shopkeeper, marr. (1) Patrick Sheills, writer (father of Barbara and Violet) who became a burgess in her right (1692)

and (2) Gavin Thomas, W.S.; their bro. Patrick, writer, marr. Jean Williamson, shopkeeper (see Appendix 1); in an action raised by Thomas Crockett against William Ramsay, Barbara's son, his nephew, it was stated that 'it is clearly proven that the relict [Barbara] in her husband's lifetime did carry on a merchandising of such goods as these articles...'; 1731 (Ibid., CC8/4/356); bills in Dalhousie Muniments 1720s-30s (Ibid., GD 45/18/1020. 1340, 1338); in Clerk of Penicuik Muniments, 1722 (SRO, GD 18/2172); both appear in John Bell's ledger, 1721 (SRO, GD 241/434) and in the Minutes of the Merchant Company when in partnership before marriage, 1713

SIBBALD, Mrs, Changekeeper; W. John S., smith; in 1787 she was sued for a debt contracted during her husband's lifetime; it was argued in her defence that she had carried on the business of ale-selling separately from her husband's business as a blacksmith: 'there is nothing more common than for a married woman to be praepositura negotiis in either assisting their husbands or carrying on business separately...', but he was personally responsible for all debts and that she should not be liable for a debt contracted in her business though during the marriage. She was found liable, having intromitted with his goods since his death (ECA BCP Box 180 Bundle 479)

SMITH, Joanna; Sp. George Smith, grocer; a bill headed 'George Smith' is receipted by her, bill for cake, biscuit, etc., for a funeral, 1748 (Edinburgh Commissary Court, CC8/4/469)

SMITH, Margaret, Sp. Thomas Johnston, porter in Leith; she carried bottles from the glass house in Leith to the merchants, 3-4 gross at one time; she could not write; 1754 (Ibid., CC8/4/487)

STEEL, Helen; W. Robert S., confectioner; advertised in Edinburgh Courant, her shop opposite Bridge Street, 1780

STEWART, Mrs (?) Grocer; Inventory of her shop equipment, 1791 (ECA Register of Sequestrations)

STEWART, Katherine; (?) W.; inventory of house in Brown's Close, Luckenbooths, 1803 (ECA Register of Sequestrations)

STODDART, Mrs; advertisement in Edinburgh Courant, 2 March 1785, she 'keeps house at the foot of Leith Walk, north side', for people 'troubled in their minds', for 16 years past

STRACHAN, Ann, Milliner; Sp. Mr John Polson, advocate, marr. 1730, who was made burgess and guildbrother in her right; he paid 100 merks as she had already paid 100 merks for a licence. She is designated merchant in the burgess register; by 1737 said to be 'out of trade'; in 1760 it was stated during a Commissary Court case that she had been 'in the greatest business, employed by the most considerable persons and families and her method of conducting her affairs was agreeable to every person' (Edinburgh Commissary Court: CC8/4/507); bills due to her from Countess of Panmure, 1722-4 (SRO, GD 45/18/1018, 1020); from the Dicks of Prestonfield, 1724-30 (SRO RH 15/36/41); entered the Merchant Company, 1724 (Minute Book); bills due to her from Halls of Dunclas, 1727-9 (SRO, GD 206/3/Portfolio 1/3c);

bill due to her from James Cheyne, 1729 (Edinburgh Commissary Court: CC8/4/639)

SYMINGTON, Christian, Upholsterer; (?) Dau. John S., upholsterer; W. of George Lawson, upholsterer (marr. 1746); her bills in Commissary Court papers, 1747-48 (CC8/4/455; CC8/4/461)

TELFER, Elizabeth; W. Thomas Spence, grocer; sued Ensign Frederick Bruce of the 'Invalids' in the Castle for a debt of £42 2s 8d for groceries; one witness, John Martin porter, said he had 'commonly used to take her goods to the customers'; 1795 (Ibid., CC8/4/557)

TODD, Elizabeth, Roomsetter; Sp. Alexander Waters, wright in Crosscauseway; bill due to her by Mrs Wilson who had gone to live in her lodging when unable to go on living on her own; Mrs Wilson had said she would leave Mrs Waters everything 'for her care and attention'; bill survives, 1796-7 (Ibid., CC8/4/558)

TROTTER, Helen; W. John Smith, stabler in West Port; bill due to her for fodder and coach for surgeon attending family of Watson of Saughton, 1716 (SRO, GD 150/3272); another bill to 'Widow Smith', 1717 (Ibid.); (?) Marr. of John Smith indweller of Portsburgh, and Helen Trotter, dau. George T., clothier, and servant to Mr Walter Steward, advocate, 1703; husband became burgess in her right, 1709

TULLOCH, Mrs, Milliner; a letter from Catherine Tulloch to Lady Pitcalnie, 1760: 'Poor Mrs Tulloch is in great affliction for the loss of her lovely baby who dayed 8th of this month with a trouble in his head. Pen Anderson is settled with her for a quarter to

learn something of the millinery work' (SRO, GD 199/119)

WALKER, Helen; W. Andrew Wilson, flesher; in 1797 she sued Archibald McDonald of Sanda for a debt; his mother, Mrs M., kept the pass book which the servant took to the shop to be marked up (Edinburgh Commissary Court: CC8/4/588)

WATERSTON, Mrs, Candlemaker 1783; W. Wm. Waterston, wax chandler, Old Greyfriars Parish (his testament 2 October 1780); advertised in Edinburgh Advertiser, 1 December 1783 selling candles 'at her warehouse'; her ledgers said to be in possession of present firm, George Waterston and Sons, Edinburgh

WHITEFORD, Mary, Rouping-woman; Sp. William Ged, merchant; mention of her as active in 1742-3 (Edinburgh Commissary Court: CC8/8/105, 17 February 1742; CC8/8/106, 14 June 1742; CC8/8/106, 31 August 1742; CC8/8/107, 8 April 1743)

WHITE, Margaret, Rouping-woman; Sp. - Bain; valued the goods of Walter Goodall, assistant keeper of the Advocate's Library; bill 8 July 1766 (Ibid., CC8/4/579)

WILSON, Mrs (?), Rouping-woman; (?) W.; advertised in Caledonian Mercury, 12 October 1752; snuff sold at her shop at Head of Fleshmarket now in her house in Mary King's Close, or at Patrick Murray's junior, at the sign of the Red Lion Snuff Mill in the Luckenbooths

YORSTON, Margaret, Grocer, W. James Y., brewer; bill for candy, sugar, vinegar and whisky, etc., 1750-1 (Edinburgh Commissary Court: CC8/4/475); (?) same advertising as a roomsetter in Caledonian Mercury, 22 May 1755)

YOUNG, Carola, Milliner and Shopkeeper; Dau. Robert Young, minister at Kippen, and Margaret McFarlane; she was born on 19 February 1682 and baptised on 23 of same month (lairds of Garden and Bucklyvie, witnesses), extract from kirk session records of Kippen (SRO, GD 22/1/146); in partnership with Helen Gilchrist before her marriage (in 1710) to Archibald MacAulay, later Provost of Edinburgh; on his entering the Merchant Company it was noted that he was married to Carola; 'Carola Young and Co.' in John Bell's ledger, 1709--19 (SRO, GD 241/434; bills due to her from Countess of Panmure, 1712-13 (SRO, GD 45/18/1010); letter from her to Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, 1739 (SRO, GD 18/5429); her shopkeeper Margaret Christie deponed in an action of 1748 (Edinburgh Commissary Court: CC8/4/456), the protested bill in question (1742) was on petition of Provost MacAulay and others, but actually due to Carola for merchandise.

YULE, Anna, Watchmaker; W. James Alcorn, watchmaker; petition in 1735 for repairs to her shop; liferenter of a tenement in Pirrie's Close (ECA Dean of Guild Minute Book, 1735-37, p.193)

ZIGLER, Amphilis, Roomsetter; W. Michael Z., goldsmith; bill due to her for lodgings, washing, coal, etc., 1703 (ECA BCP Box 55 Bundle 97)

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